

AN
ESSAY
UPON THE
Life, Writings, and Character,

OF
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT.

Interpersed with some occasional Animadversions
upon the *Remarks* of a late critical Author,
and upon the *Observations* of an anonymous
Writer on those Remarks.

*Et etiam in magnis Heliconis montibus arbos,
Floris odore hominem tetra consueta necare.*

Lucret. lib. 6.

By DEANE SWIFT, Esq;

To which is added,

That Sketch of Dr. SWIFT's Life, written by the
DOCTOR himself, which was lately presented
by the Author of this Essay to the *University*
of *Dublin*.

L O N D O N: Printed;
D U B L I N: Re-printed, in the Year MDCCLV.

E R R A T A,

- P. 37. L. 13. Clatter *r.* Clutter.
56. L. 22. to shew my Son, *r.* to shew to my
Son.
72. L. 9. from one another, *r.* one from
another.
135. L. 3. Eccho, *r.* Echo.
146. L. 8. Trees, *r.* Tree.
151. L. 9. came, *r.* became.
157. L. 1. Dele *Whiggish*.
177. L. 17. Scholiography, *r.* Scoliography.

THE
APPENDIX.

THE
FAMILY of SWIFT*.

SECT. I.

THE Family of the SWIFTS was ancient in *Yorkshire*, from them descended a noted Person, who passed under the Name of CAVALLIERO SWIFT, a Man of Wit and Humour. He was made an *Irish* Peer by King JAMES or King CHARLES the first, with the Title of Baron CARLINGFORD [1], but never was in that Kingdom. Many traditional pleasant Stories are related of him, which the Family planted in *Ireland*, hath received from their Parents. This Lord died without Issue Male;

and his Heiress, whether of the first or second Descent, was married to ROBERT FIELDING, Esq; commonly called handsome FIELDING ; she brought him a considerable Estate in *Yorkshire*, which he squandered away, but had no Children: The Earl of EGLINGTON married another Coheirss of the same Family, as he hath often told me.

1727-1729 * THIS little Tract, entitled, *The Family of SWIFT*, which I have published by way of *Appendix*, was written by Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT, *Dean of St. Patrick's, Dublin*, about six or eight and twenty Years ago, as an Introduction to his Life, which he had Reason to apprehend would some Time or other become a Topick of general Conversation. The Notes, wherein I have presumed to differ in some few Particulars from the DOCTOR, although in Points very immaterial ; I have written upon my own Authority, as in many Cases I have had better Opportunities of being acquainted with several Anecdotes relating to the Family, than had fallen to the Share of Dr. SWIFT himself. The original Manuscript under the DOCTOR's own Hand, which I had the Honour to receive as a Present from his old, faithful Friend,

See p. 43 for writing after

Dec. 1753, i.e. 1754

See p. 396 for Dec. 31, 1754

(III)

Friend, and Cousin-german, Mrs. WHITE-
WAY, I have lodged in the University Li-
brary of *Dublin*; to remain there as an Au-
thority, so far as it goes, to justify my own
Accounts in that Essay, which I have writ-
ten upon the Life, Writings and Character
of Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT.

See 10 writing
after July 23
1753, when MS
accessioned by
T.C.D. Library.

[1] BARNAM SWIFT, Esq; created Viscount
(not Baron) of CARLINGFORD, in the Realm
of *Ireland*, March 20, 1627, Anno 3 CAROLI
Regis.

S E C T. II.

Another of the same Family was
Sir EDWARD SWIFT, well known in
the Times of the great Rebellion and
Usurpation; but I am ignorant whe-
ther he left Heirs or no.

S E C T. III.

Of the other Branch, whereof the
greater Part settled in *Ireland*, the
Founder was WILLIAM SWIFT [2], Pre-
bendary of *Canterbury* [3], towards
the last Years of Queen ELIZABETH,

and during the Reign of King JAMES the first. He was a Divine of some Distinction : There is a Sermon [4] of his extant, and the Title is to be seen in the Catalogue of the *Bodleian* Library, but I never could get a Copy, and I suppose it would now be of little Value.

[2] IN this particular it happens that Dr. SWIFT was mistaken : Had he read the Dedication of WILLIAM SWIFT'S Sermon, it would have set him right. In that Dedication we find that THOMAS SWIFT, the Father of WILLIAM, was presented in the Year 1569, to the Parish of St. ANDREW in the City of *Canterbury* : And moreover, that upon the Decease of THOMAS, WILLIAM SWIFT, in the Year 1591, succeeded his Father in the same Parish.

[3] I do not find the Name of WILLIAM SWIFT in the List of the Prebendaries of *Canterbury* ; I suppose the DOCTOR took it for granted that the Parish of St. ANDREW'S was one of the Prebends belonging to that Cathedral.

[4] THE Sermon is written pretty much in the Stile and Manner of those Days. It is full of Matter, and sufficiently proves from a great Variety of Examples, that Afflictions fall
unto

unto the Lot of the Righteous. It was preached at the Funeral of Mr. THOMAS WILSON, in his own Church of St. GEORGE'S in *Canterbury*, the 25th of *January*, 1621. He hath chosen for his Text, *Rom. viii. 18.*

S E C T. IV.

This WILLIAM married the Heiress of PHILPOT, I suppose a *Yorkshire* Gentleman [5], by whom he got a very considerable Estate, which however she kept in her own Power; I know not by what Artifice. She was a capricious ill-natured and passionate Woman, of which I have been told several Instances. And it hath been a continual Tradition in the Family, that she absolutely disinherited her only Son THOMAS [6], for no greater Crime than that of robbing an Orchard when he was a Boy. And thus much is certain, that except a Church or Chapter Lease, which was not renewed, THOMAS never enjoyed more than one Hundred Pounds a Year, which was

all at *Goodrich* [7], in *Herefordshire*, whereof not above one Half is now in the Possession of a Great-Great Grandson [8].

[5] RATHER, a Gentleman of *Kent*, or some of the neighbouring Counties. This Mistake of Dr. SWIFT proceeds from the same Error that was cleared up in one of the preceding Notes; the Doctor having thought WILLIAM SWIFT, and not his Father, was the first of our younger Branch, which had moved from *Yorkshire* to *Canterbury*.

[6] WHOM he once threatened to whip for some trifling Misdemeanour after he had left the University.

[7] AT *Goodrich*, and two other neighbouring Parishes, viz. *Marstow* and *Llangarran*.

[8] DEANE SWIFT, Esquire.

S E C T. V.

His original Picture is now in the Hands of GODWIN SWIFT [9] of *Dublin*, Esq; his Great Grandson, as well as that of his Wife's, who seems to have a good Deal of the Shrew in her Countenance; whose Arms of an Heir-
ess

els are joined with his own ; and by the last he seems to have been a person somewhat fantastick ; for there he gives as his Device a Dolphin (in those Days called a Swift) twisted about an Anchor, with this Motto, *Festina lente.*

[9] IN the Hands of Mrs. ELIZABETH SWIFT, Relict of GODWIN SWIFT, late of *Swifts-beath*, in the County of *Kilkenny*, Esq; His Picture was drawn in the Year 1623, ætatis suæ 57: His Wife's Picture was drawn the same Year, ætatis suæ 54. *(Is Not a portrait of Elizabeth Swift, nee Morda, whom Godwin married as his 4th last wife and whom Anne Swift descends as a great beauty (pg 17-18).)*

SECT. VI.

There is likewise a Seal with the same Coat of Arms (his not joined with his Wife's) which the said WILLIAM commonly made use of, and this is also now in the Possession of GODWIN SWIFT [1] above-mentioned.

[1] IN the Hands of Mrs. SWIFT, above-mentioned.

SECT.

S E C T. VII.

His eldest Son THOMAS [2] seems to have been a Clergyman before his Father's Death. He was Vicar of *Goodrich*, in *Herefordshire*, within a Mile [3] or two of *Ross*: He had likewise another Church Living, with about one Hundred Pounds a Year in Land, as I have already mentioned. He built a House on his own Land in the Village of *Goodrich* [4], which by the Architecture denotes the Builder to have been somewhat whimsical and singular, and very much towards a Projector. The House [5] is above a Hundred Years old and still in good Repair, inhabited by a Tenant [6] of the Female Line, but the Landlord, a young Gentleman, lives upon his own Estate in *Ireland*.

[2] His only Son THOMAS was a Clergyman before his Father's Death, as appears from the Drapery in his Picture, which was drawn

at the same Time with his Father's, in the Year 1623, *Ætatis suæ* 28.

[3] WITHIN four Miles of *Rafs*.

[4] NOT in the Village, but in the Parish of *Goodrich*.

[5] IT is certainly a House of the oddest Kind that ever was built. It has three Floors, containing about twelve or fourteen Rooms, besides Vaults and Garrets. The Whole seems to be three single Houses all joining in one central Point. Undoubtedly there never was, nor ever will be, such another Building to the End of the World. However, it is a very good House, and perhaps calculated to stand as long as any House in *England*. It was built, according to the Date of one of the Pillars, in the Year 1636.

[6] THAT Tenant of the Female Line hath been dead these many Years,

S. E C T. VIII.

This THOMAS was distinguished by his Courage, as well as his Loyalty to King CHARLES the First, and the Sufferings he underwent for that Prince, more than any Person of his Condition in *England*. Some Historians [7] of those Times relate several Particulars

culars of what he acted, and what Hardships he underwent for the Person and Cause of that blessed martyr'd Prince. He was plundered by the Round Heads six and thirty Times, some say above fifty [8]. He engaged his small Estate, and gathered all the Money he could get, quilted it in his Waistcoat, and got off to a Town held for the King [9], where being asked by the Governor, who knew him well, what he could do for his Majesty; Mr. SWIFT said, he would give the King his Coat, and stripping it off, presented it to the Governor; who observing it to be worth little, Mr. SWIFT said, then take my Waistcoat: He bid the Governor weigh it in his Hand, who ordering it to be ripped, found it lined with three Hundred broad Pieces of Gold, which as it proved a seasonable Relief [1], must be allowed an extraordinary Supply from a private Clergymen with ten Children, of a small

Small Estate, so often plundered, and soon after turned out of his Livings in the Church.

[7] THE following Note I have extracted from MERCURIUS RUSTICUS, and WALKER'S *Sufferings of the CLERGY*.

WHEN the Earl of STAMFORD (*whose Name is frequently mentioned by the Earl of CLARENDON*; Vide Vol. ii. p. 135, 137, 268, 270, 271, 273, of the 8vo Edition) was in *Herefordshire*, in October 1642, and pillaged all that kept Faith and Allegiance to the King, information was given to Mrs. SWIFT, Wife of Mr. THOMAS SWIFT, Parson of *Goodrich*, that her House was designed to be plundered: To prevent so great a Danger, she instantly repaired to *Hereford*, where the Earl then was, some ten Miles from her own Home, to petition him, that no Violence might be offered by his Soldiers to her House or Goods; he most nobly, and according to the Goodness of his Disposition, threw the Petition away, and swore no small Oaths that she should be plundered To-morrow. The good Gentlewoman being out of Hope to prevail, and seeing there was no Good to be done by petitioning him, speeds Home as fast as she could, and that Night removed as much of her Goods as the Shortness of the Time would permit:
Next

Next Morning, to make good the Earl of STAMFORD's Word, Capt. KIRLE's Troop, consisting of seventy Horse and thirty Foot, which were Hangers-on (Birds of Prey) came to Mr. SWIFT's House, there they took away all his Provision of Victuals, Corn, Household Stuff, which was not conveyed away; they empty his Beds, and fill the Ticks with Malt; they rob him of his Cart and six Horses, and make this Part of their Theft the Means to convey away the rest: Mrs. SWIFT, much affrighted to see such a Sight as this, thought it best to save herself, tho' she lost her Goods; therefore taking up a young Child in her Arms, began to secure herself by Flight; which one of the Troopers perceiving, he commanded her to stay, or (holding his Pistol at her Breast) threatened to shoot her dead; she (good Woman) fearing Death whether she went on or returned; at last, shunning that Death which was next unto her, she retires back to her House, where she saw herself undone, and yet durst not oppose or ask why they did so? Having thus rifled the House and gone, next Morning early she goes again to *Hereford*, and there again petitions the Earl to shew some Compassion on her and her ten Children, and that he would be pleased to cause her Horses and some Part of her Goods to be restored unto her; The good Earl was so far from granting her Petition,

titution, that he would not vouchsafe so much
 as to read it: When she could not prevail
 herself, she makes Use of the Mediation of
 Friends: These have the Repulse too, his
 Lordship remaining inexorable, without any
 Inclination to Mercy: At last, hoping that
 all Men's Hearts were not Adamant, relent-
 less, she leaves the Earl, and makes her Ad-
 dress to Captain KIRLE, who, upon her
 earnest Intreaty, grants her a Protection for
 what was left, but for Restitution, there
 was no Hope of that; this Protection cost
 her no less than thirty Shillings: It seems
 Paper and Ink are dear in those Parts. And
 now thinking herself secured by this Protec-
 tion, she returns Home, in Hopes that what
 was left she might enjoy in Peace and Qui-
 etness; she had not been long at Home, but
 Captain KIRLE sends her Word, that if it
 pleased her, she might buy four of her own
 six Horses again, assuring her by his Father's
 Servant and Tenant, that she should not fear
 being plundered of them any more by the
 Earl of STAMFORD's Forces while they were
 in those Parts. Encouraged by these Pro-
 mises she was content to buy her own, and
 deposited eight Pounds ten Shillings for four
 of her Horses. And now conceiving the
 Storm to be blown over, and all Danger past,
 and placing much Confidence in her pur-
 chased Protection, she causeth all her Goods,
 secured in her Neighbours Houses, to be
 brought

brought Home; and since it could not be better, rejoiced that she had not lost all. She had not enjoyed these Thoughts long, but Captain KIRLE sent unto her for some Vessels of Cyder, whereof having tasted, but not liking it, since he could not have Drink for himself he would have Proven-der for his Horse; and therefore instead of Cyder, he demands ten Bushels of Oats. Mrs. SWIFT fearing that the Denial might give some Ground of Quarrel, sent him Word that her Husband had not two Bushels of Oats in a Year for Tythe, nor did they sow any on their Glebe; both which were most true; yet to shew how willing she was (to her Power) to comply with him, that the Messenger might not return empty, she sent him forty Shillings to buy Oats. Suddenly after the Captain of *Goodrich* Castle sends to Mrs. SWIFT's House for Victual and Corn; Mrs. SWIFT instantly repairs to him, and shews him her Protection; he, to answer Shew with Shew, shews her his Warrant, and so without any Regard to her Protection, seizeth upon that Provision which was in the House, together with the Cyder which Captain KIRLE refused. Hereupon Mrs. SWIFT writes to Captain KIRLE, complaining of this Injury, and the Affront done to him in slighting his Protection; but before the Messenger could return with an Answer to her Letter, some from the Castle came

came a second Time to plunder the House, and they did what they came for: Presently after comes a Letter from Captain KIRLE, in Answer to Mrs. SWIFT's, telling her, that the Earl of STAMFORD did by no Means approve of the Injuries done unto her; and withal, by Word of Mouth, sends to her for more Oats: She perceiving, that as long as she gave they would never leave asking, resolved to be drilled no more; the Return not answering Expectation, on the 3d of *December*, two Hours before Day, Captain KIRLE's Lieutenant, attended by a considerable Number of Horse and Dragoons, comes to Mr. SWIFT's House and demands Entrance; but the Doors being kept shut against them, and not able to force them, they broke down two Iron Bars in a Stone Window, and so with Swords drawn and Pistols cocked, they entered the House. Being entered, they take all Mr. SWIFT and his Wife's Apparel, his Books, and his Children's Cloaths, they being in Bed; and those poor Children that hung by their Cloaths, unwilling to part with them, they swung them about until (their hold-fast failing) they dashed them against the Walls. They took away all his Servants Cloaths, and made so clean Work with one, that they left him not a Shirt to cover his Nakedness. There was one of the Children, an Infant lying in the Cradle, they robbed that, and left

left not the little poor Soul a Rag to defend it from the Cold. They took away all the Iron, Pewter, and Brass, and a very fair Cup-board of Glass, which they could not carry away, they broke to Pieces; and the four Horses lately redeemed, are with them lawful Prizes again, and left nothing of all the Goods but a few Stools for his Wife, Children and Servants, to sit down and bemoan their distressed Condition. Having taken away all, and being gone, Mrs. SWIFT, in Compassion to her poor Infant in the Cradle, took it up almost starved with Cold, and wrapped it in a Petticoat which she took off from herself; and now hoped, that having nothing to lose, would be a better Protection for their Persons, than that which she purchased of Captain KIRLE for thirty Shillings. But as if JOB's Messenger would never make an End, her three Maid Servants, whom they of the Castle had compelled to carry the Poultry to the Castle, return and tell their Mistress, that they in the Castle said that they had a Warrant to seize upon Mrs. SWIFT, and bring her into the Castle; and that they would make her three Maid Servants wait on her there, *threatning to plunder all under the Petticoat*; and other uncivil immodest Words, not fit for them to speak, or me to write. Hereupon Mrs. SWIFT fled to the Place where her Husband, for fear of the Rebels, had withdrawn himself:

self: She had not been gone two Hours, but they come from the Castle, and bring with them three Teams, to carry away what was before designed for Plunder, but wanted Means of Conveyance. When they came, amongst other Things, there was a Batch of Bread hot in the Oven, this they seize on, ten Children on their Knees intreat but for one Loaf, and at last with much Importunity obtained it: But before the Children had eaten it, they took even that one Loaf away, and left them destitute of a Morfel of Bread amongst ten Children. Ransacking every Corner of the House, that nothing might be left behind, they find a small Pewter Dish, in which the Dry Nurse had put Pap to feed the poor Infant, the Mother which gave it Suck being fled to save her Life, this they seize on too. The Nurse intreats for GOD's Sake, that they would spare that, pleading, that in the Mother's Absence it was all the Sustenance which was or could be provided to sustain the Life of the Child; and on her Knees, intreated to shew Mercy unto the Child, that *knew not the right Hand from the left*, a Motive which prevailed with GOD himself, though justly incensed against *Nineveh*. But to shew what Bowels of Compassion and Mercy are to be expected in Sec-taries, and how far they are from being Dis-ciples to him who says, *be ye merciful as your FATHER which is in Heaven is merciful*;

b

they

they transgress that Precept of our SAVIOUR in the Letter, and take away the Childrens Meat and give it unto Dogs; for, throwing the Pap to the Dogs, they put up the Dish as lawful Prize.

MR. SWIFT's eldest Son, a Youth, seeing this barbarous Cruelty, demanded of them a Reason of this so hard Usage; they replied, that his Father was a Traitor to the King and Parliament, and added, that they would keep them so short, that they should eat the very Flesh from their Arms; and to make good their Word, they threaten the Miller, that if he ground Corn for these Children, they would grind him in his own Mill; and not contented with this, they go to Mr. SWIFT's next Neighbour (whose Daughter was his Servant) and take him Prisoner; they examine him upon Oath what Goods of Mr. SWIFT he had in his Custody; he professing that he had none, they charge him to take his Daughter from Mr. SWIFT's Service, or else they threaten to plunder him, and to make sure Work they make him give them Security to obey all their Commands: Terrified with this, the Neighbours stand afar off, and pity the distressed Condition of these persecuted Children; but dare not come or send to their Relief: By this Means the Children and Servants had no Sustenance, hardly any Thing to cover them, from Friday six o'Clock at Night,

Night, until *Saturday* twelve at Night, until at last the Neighbours, moved with the lamentable Cries and Complaints of the Children and Servants, one of the Neighbours over-looking all Difficulties, and shewing that he durst be charitable in Despite of these Monsters, ventured in and brought them some Provision. And if the World would know what it was that so exasperated these Rebels against this Gentleman, the Earl of STAMFORD, a Man that is not bound to give an Account of all his Actions, gave two Reasons for it; first, because he had bought Arms and conveyed them into *Monmouthshire*, which under his Lordship's good Favour was not so: And secondly, because not long before, he preached a Sermon at *Ros* upon that Text, *give unto CÆSAR the Things that are CÆSAR'S*, in which his Lordship said, he had spoken Treason, in endeavouring to give CÆSAR more than his due: These two Crimes cost Mr. SWIFT no less than Three Hundred Pounds. See *Mercurius Rusticus*, chap. viii. p. 84.

THUS far the MERCURY; (saith WALKER the Historian) which being written about a Year after the transacting of these Barbarities, could not account for Mr. SWIFT'S Sequestration; because that was not formally issued until about *three Years* after, viz. in 1646; and *July 5* that Year, find the Committee of *Hereford sequestred*,

and ordered the Profits of *Goodrich* into the Hands of JONATHAN DRYDEN, Minister, until the *Christmas* following. This Mr. DRYDEN was to *see the said Cure duly officiated*; and to *receive, gather, and dispose of the Dues* of the Living: When his other Living of *Bridstow* was put under *Sequestration*, I know not; but *September 25*, that Year also, the same Committee ordered his Ejectment from it, for *Scandal and Delinquency, and for being in actual Service against the Parliament*. At the same Time likewise, they ordered Mr. JONATHAN SMITH, the then Curate, to be inducted in his Cure. (What became of him [SMITH] afterwards I know not, saith WALKER) but in 1654, one JOHN SOMERS got this Living.

THE 24th of *March* following, the Committee ordered his *Ejectment* also from *Goodrich*, and the inducting of GYLES RAWLINS to succeed him in that Parish; and assign the *same Reasons* for it, as they before had done for the *turning him out of Bridstow*. Mr. SWIFT was also imprisoned by the Committee as soon as the *Garrison of Hereford* fell into the Hands of the *Rebels*, and continued Prisoner a long Time. I find him in Custody at *Ragland Castle* when the Committee ordered his *Ejectment* from *Goodrich*. He had a *temporal Estate* in *Goodrich* and *Marstow*, which the same Committee ordered to be *sequestred*, *August 4*, 1646. After

After which he endured many grievous Hardships with his *numerous Family*; but lived to be restored with the *Church* and his Majesty, and died at *Goodrich* in a good old Age *. [WALKER was misinformed with Regard to this last Particular; for Mr. SWIFT died in the Year 1658, in the 63d Year of his Age.]

[8] His Cattle and Stock were driven off his Land twelve Times; his House was plundered two and fifty Times; and five Times set on Fire by the fanatical Round-heads. And because they never came to his House without finding some trifling Provision or other; (for when the Rebellion was beginning to break out, he sunk a private Vault in a Place not to be suspected, which he plentifully stored with Provisions, and communicated the Secret to none but a faithful Servant) they gave him the Appellation of SWIFT the *Conjurer*; in Consequence whereof, several ridiculous Stories were invented; many of which, like Fairy Tales, were, to my Knowledge, credited by the ignorant in those Parts, within these five and twenty Years. I cannot help relating one or two of them, because they are sufficiently droll and extravagant. The People in that Country verily believed, that upon his Retirement into one of the Castles held for the King

* Vide WALKER's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 363.

King (which I think was either *Chepstow* or *Ragland*) he used to walk upon the Batteries, and with his Hand beat aside the Balls that were shot against the Castle. The other Story is, that he once fought the *Devil* in single Combat, and after many Blows given and received on both Sides, that the *Devil* vanished into the Air, but not before he had left a Cake of Blood on the Conjuror's Breast. In short, the common People of the Church Party loved him to that Degree for his Generosity and Courage in the Royal Cause, that in Truth they looked upon his Fortitude to be of such a Temper, that it was not to be conquered even by the Devil himself. And, without Dispute, let his Merits and Sufferings have been what they would before the Year 1646, at which Time both his Church Livings and the greater Part of his Estate was sequestred by that rascally Committee of *Hereford*, he sustained from that Period even to his last Hour, which was in the Year 1658, a most obstinate and grievous conflict against POVERTY, FANATICKS, the USURPER, and the DEVIL. Yet in the midst of his Calamities he never shrunk from his Duty as a Clergyman of the Church of *England*; but regularly and constantly performed all the Business of his LORD and MASTER in private Houses, with as much Alacrity as before the Sequestration of his Revenues, whether

ther temporal or spiritual. His Pocket Chalice was given to the Church of *Goodrich*, by Dr. SWIFT, with this Inscription;

“ THOMAS SWIFT hujus ecclesiæ vicarius, notus in historiis ob ea quæ fecit et passus est pro CAROLO rimo, ex hoc calice ægrotantibus propinavit. Eundem calicem JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. D. decanus ecclesiæ sanct. PATRICII *Dublin* THOMÆ ex filio nepos huic ecclesiæ in perpetuum dedicat, 1726.”

[9] To *Ragland* Castle, which to the eternal Honour of the old Marquis of WORCESTER (the brave and worthy Ancestor of the present great Duke of BEAUFORT) endured the longest Siege of any Fort or Castle in *England*; and was defended by that old NESTOR with extraordinary Courage and Resolution against the fanatical Army, commanded by FAIRFAX himself, until it was reduced to the utmost Necessity. *Vide* Clarendon.

[1] Perhaps there never was a more seasonable, or at least a more acceptable Donation made to King CHARLES the first in the whole Course of the War, than these three Hundred broad Pieces: For indeed they were presented to the King upon his Majesty's Retirement to the Castle of *Ragland*, when his Affairs were at the lowest Ebb, in the Year 1645, immediately after that unfortunate Battle of *Naseby*; where upon the
Whole,

Whole, both King and Kingdom were lost to all Intents and Purposes. *Vide Clarendon.*

S E C T. IX.

At another Time being informed that three Hundred Horse of the Rebel Party intended in a Week to pass over a certain River, upon an Attempt against the Cavaliers, Mr. SWIFT having a Head mechanically turned, he contrived certain Pieces of Iron with three Spikes, whereof one must always be with the Point upwards: He placed them over Night in the Ford, where he received Notice that the Rebels would pass early the next Morning, which they accordingly did, and lost two Hundred of their Men, who were drowned or trod to Death by the falling of their Horses, or torn by the Spikes [2].

[2] It was undoubtedly for Actions of this Kind that he was considered by the Fanaticks, in the Character of a Soldier, and deprived

deprived of his Church Livings, together with the Profits of his Estate so very early. For, according to WALKER the Historian, whom I have quoted in a former Note, the Committee of *Hereford* ordered his several Ejectments from his Livings and Estate, not only for *Scandal and Delinquency*, but for his *being in actual Service against the Parliament*.

S E C T. X.

His Sons, whereof four [3] were settled in *Ireland* (driven thither by their Sufferings, and by the Death of their Father) related many other Passages, which they learned either from their Father himself, or from what had been told them by the most credible Persons of *Herefordshire*, and some neighbouring Counties; and which some of those Sons often told to their Children; many of which are still remembered, but many more forgot.

[3] He should have said five: I suppose he forgot DRYDEN SWIFT, who died very young and a Batchelor, soon after he had
come

come over to *Ireland* with his Brothers. He recollects his Name however in one of the subsequent Paragraphs.

S E C T. XI.

He was deprived of both his Church Livings sooner than most other loyal Clergymen, upon Account of his superior Zeal for the King's Cause, and his Estate sequestred. His Preferments, at least that of *Goodrich*, were given to a fanatical Saint [4], who scrupled not however, to conform upon the Restoration, and lived many Years, I think till after the Revolution: I have seen many Persons at *Goodrich*, who knew and told me his Name, which I cannot now remember.

[4] ONE GYLES RAWLINS succeeded him in the Parish of *Goodrich*: But the fanatical Saint here mentioned, succeeded RAWLINS some Time before the Month of *October*, 1657; his Name was WILLIAM TRINGHAM.

S E C T.

S E C T. XII.

The Lord Treasurer OXFORD told the Dean that he had among his Father's (Sir EDWARD HARLEY's) Papers, several Letters from Mr. THOMAS SWIFT, writ in those Times, which he promised to give to the Grandson, whose Life I am now writing[5]; but never going to his House in *Herefordshire* while he was Treasurer, and the Queen's Death happening in three Days after his Removal, the Dean went to *Ireland*, and the Earl being tried for his Life, and dying while the Dean was in *Ireland*, he could never get them.

[5] It is plain from this Passage, and perhaps one or two more in this *Appendix*, that what is here published was only designed originally by the DOCTOR, as a few Memorials, for the Instruction of any Person that should write his Life. The DOCTOR hath prophesied in some Verses (and you know that VATES signifieth a *Prophet* as well
as

as a *Poet*) that his Life would certainly become a Topick one Time or other, that would amuse the World; his Words are these;

They'll serve me as they've done my Betters,
Publish my Will, my Life, my Letters.

All which have already been literally fulfilled, to the entire Satisfaction of a great Number, *I know not whether to call them Friends or Enemies.*

S E C T. XIII.

Mr. THOMAS SWIFT died in the Year 1658, and in the [6] Year of his Age: His Body lies under the Altar at *Goodrich*, with a short Inscription. He died about two Years before the Return of King CHARLES the Second, who by the Recommendation of some Prelates had promised, if ever GOD should restore him, that he would promote Mr. SWIFT in the Church, and other Ways reward his Family, for his extraordinary Services and Zeal, and Persecutions in the
Royal

Royal Cause: But Mr. SWIFT's Merit died with himself [7].

[6] IN the 63d Year of his Age.

[7] WHETHER to accuse CHARLES the Second of Ingratitude; or, to accuse Mr. THOMAS SWIFT's Posterity of Pride, I do acknowledge myself to be wholly at a Loss. Nevertheless, I am persuaded that no Solicitation was ever made to the Crown by one of the Name, from that Day to this, for any the least Favour whatsoever, that was either worth the Crown's Refusal, or any of the Family's Acceptance; the Refusal of a *Bishoprick* to Dr. SWIFT in the Days of Queen ANNE (not forgetting King WILLIAM's Breach of Promise to the DOCTOR in the Case of a *Prebend*) only excepted. If indeed the Grant of the *Deanery* should be called a Favour, I would almost appeal unto a Fanatick, whether in common Justice, throwing all Merit as a Clergyman out of the Question, he had not bought it over and over, and fifty Times over, by his Labours and Writings for the Queen and the Constitution. Nay, so thoroughly sensible were the Ministry, that his Labours demanded some larger Recompence, that even the *Lord Treasurer* (frugal of the Nation's Money, although careless of his own) procured him from the Queen either a Grant or a Promise

Promise of a little paultry thousand Pounds;
 which by the Way he never received unto
 the Hour of his Death, notwithstanding
 that he had put Sir ROBERT WALPOLE in
 Mind of it in the Year 1726, altho' in a
 Manner somewhat obliquely, as you may
 read in a Letter of his to Dr. SHERIDAN,
 Vol. viii, p. 406, dated July 8, 1726, where
 he saith, " tell him (Archdeacon WALL)
 " that I never asked for my thousand Pounds,
 " which he hears I have got, although I
 " mentioned it to the Princess of WALES
 " the last Time I saw her, but I bid her
 " tell WALPOLE, I scorned to ask for it."
 And yet to my Knowledge, upon some Dis-
 obligations, which he thought he had re-
 ceived, he had it frequently in Design to
 make a formal Demand of it, although he
 never expected the Money.

S E C T. XIV.

He left ten Sons and three or four
 Daughters, most of which lived to be
 Men and Women: His eldest Son
 GODWIN SWIFT, of the *Inner Temple*,
 Esq; [8] (so stiled by GUILLYM the
 Herald; in whose Book the Family is
 described at large) was I think called
 to

to the Bar before the Restoration. He married a Relation of the old Marchioness of ORMOND, and upon that Account, as well as his Father's Loyalty, the old Duke of ORMOND made him his Attorney General in the Palatinate of *Tipperary*. He had four Wives, one of which, to the great Offence of his Family, was Coheirefs [9] to Admiral DEANE, who was one of the *Regicides*. GODWIN left several Children, who have all Estates. He was an ill Pleader, but perhaps a little too dextrous [1] in the subtle Parts of the Law.

*Elizabeth
Wickham*

*Catharine Wickham
London, 2nd wife*

*Hannah
Deane*

*Deane's
Sister of Surgeon
Deane*

[8] OF GRAY'S-Inn, not of the *Middle-Temple*.

[9] SOLE Heirefs to Admiral DEANE.

[1] THESE Words, *perhaps a little too*, were interlined in the original Manuscript, some Time after it was first written, as appears manifestly from the different Shade of the Ink, and were designed by the DOCTOR to cast a Slur upon the Memory of his Uncle, whose Kindness to JONATHAN had deserved much better Treatment at his Hands. But, I shall account for JONATHAN's dislike to

to his Uncle in its proper Place. JONATHAN says, that Counsellor SWIFT was an ill Pleader; but he allows at the same Time, that he was dextrous (as he thinks proper to phrase it) in the subtle Parts of the Law. Whether or no Counsellor SWIFT was an ill Pleader, it is impossible that JONATHAN could form any Judgment, as the Counsellor never appeared in the Courts after the Time of the Revolution; nor, according to the Information I have received, for two or three Years before. However, it cannot be denied that in Point of Oratory his Brother-in-Law, Sir JOHN MEADE, eclipsed the whole Bar in the Reign of CHARLES the *Second*; but for deep Learning and sound Judgment in his Profession, there was none superior to Counsellor SWIFT among all his Cotemporaries. He certainly understood the most subtil Parts of the Law: But, the Use he made of that Knowledge was to guard his Friends, and those who relied upon his Judgment, from the evil Effects that might arise from the Want of being acquainted with those very Subtilties. And accordingly, his Reputation was so firmly established, that most of the great Settlements in those Times were drawn up pursuant to his immediate Directions: And I believe I may venture to say, they were drawn up in such a Manner, as not to furnish any Materials for Dispute, through any Mismanagement

management of his. The present Generation of Men, as before this Time of Day they must have smarted for any Blunders in their Family Settlements, will, I am sure, in this Particular, justify his Reputation, both for Integrity and Judgment. Counsellor SWIFT was besides, one of the best and surest Conductors of Causes, of any belonging to his Profession. And, many were the Suits designed to have been litigated, which, upon mature Deliberation, he dissuaded his Clients from engaging in at all; a Conduct so extraordinary, and so very detrimental to the Business of the Terms, that his Memory can never be revered upon that Account either by the Gentlemen of the *Long Robe*, or indeed by the jovial Brethren of the *Scire Facias* Club.

S E C T. XV.

The second Son of Mr. THOMAS SWIFT was called by the same Name, was bred at *Oxford*, and took Orders. He married the eldest Daughter of Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT [2], but died young, and left only one Son, who was also called THOMAS, and is now Rector of *Puttenham* in *Surry* [3].

His Widow lived long, was extremely poor, and in Part supported by the famous Dr. SOUTH, who had been her Husband's intimate Friend.

[2] ALTHOUGH it be quite foreign to our Purpose, I cannot forbear relating a particular Anecdote, wherein Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT was deeply concerned; and which I remember to have learned in Conversation, when I was a young Man at *Oxford*. During the Exile of King CHARLES the Second Sir WILLIAM D'AVENANT was sent over to *London* upon some Message to the CAVALIERS; but immediately after, being seized by the USURPER, he was condemned to die. In these calamitous Circumstances, he applied himself to MILTON the Secretary (who lodged at that Time in all Probability, as we are told by an *Italian* Writer, up two Pair of Stairs, somewhere I think it was in *Fleet-Street*, at the Sign of the *Carle-Cat*) and begged of him to intercede with CROMWELL for his Life. The Secretary having greater Compassion for a poor distressed Bard in such a woful Plight, than perhaps in a like Case he would have had for the Chancellor of the *Exchequer*, or indeed for the great Marquis of ORMOND, went directly to CROMWELL and made Intercession for the Life of D'AVENANT, which

which after Abundance of Sollicitation, the USURPER granted to his Intreaties with vast Reluctance. Whereupon D'AVENANT having obtained his Liberty, returned to *Paris*; but never could think of the Secretary without the highest Gratitude. And accordingly, as soon as the King was restored, D'AVENANT waited upon his Majesty, threw himself down upon his Knees; and told him he had a Favour to beg, which if he could not obtain from his Majesty, he should for ever after be the most unhappy of Mortals. The King staring for some Time at the Posture of Sir WILLIAM, his old and faithful Servant, and especially at that Anxiety which appeared in his Countenance, at last demanded of him, what was the Nature of his Request. Sir WILLIAM told the King in what Manner, and by whose Intercession, his Life had been saved, and his Liberty obtained, some Years before: And then, with Tears of Gratitude, begged and intreated for the Life of MILTON; a Life, which he perfectly well knew was in the *Black List*, and beyond all other, not excepting the *Regicides*, devoted to Destruction. The King, although exasperated against MILTON to the highest Degree, for all the Mischief he had committed during the Time of the Usurpation, being unable to refuse the Solicitation of D'AVENANT, granted that Life to the World, which afterwards produced the

Is writing after May 1752 (xxxvi)

finest Poem, which hath been written these seventeen hundred Years.

[3] MR. THOMAS SWIFT, a Man of Learning and Abilities; but unfortunately bred up like his Father and Grandfather, with an Abhorrence and Contempt for all the *puritanical Sectaries*; continued *Rector* of *Puttenham*, without any the least Hope of rising in the Church, for the Space of three score Years, and died in the Month of *May* 1752, in the eighty seventh Year of his Age.

See Gent
May for some

S E C T. XV.

The rest of his Sons, as far as I can call to Mind, were Mr. DRYDEN SWIFT, (called so after the Name of his Mother, who was a near Relation to Mr. DRYDEN the Poet [4]) WILLIAM, JONATHAN, and ADAM, who all lived and died in *Ireland*; but none of them left Male Issue, except JONATHAN, who besides a Daughter left one Son, born seven Months after his Father's Death; of whose Life I intend to write a few Memorials.

6. April 1667

[4]

(xxxvii)

[4] SHE was Aunt to the famous JOHN DRYDEN.

S E C T. XVII.

J. S. D. D. and D. of St. P—, was the only Son of JONATHAN SWIFT, who was the seventh or eighth ^{5th living son} Son of Mr. THOMAS SWIFT above-mentioned, so eminent for his Loyalty and his Sufferings.

S E C T. XVIII.

His Father died young, about two ^{Te before March 25, 1666/7, married c. June, 1664? June born 1666} Years after his Marriage: He had some Employments and Agencies; his Death was much lamented on Account of his Reputation, for Integrity, with a tolerable good Understanding.

S E C T. XIX.

He married Mrs. ABIGAIL ERICK, of *Leicestershire*, descended from the most ancient Family of the ERICKS, who

who derive their Lineage from ERICK the Forester, a great Commander, who raised an Army to oppose the Invasion of WILLIAM the Conqueror, by whom he was vanquished, but afterwards employed to command that Prince's Forces; and in his old Age retired to his House in *Leicestershire*, where his Family hath continued ever since, but declining every Age, and are now in the Condition of very private Gentlemen.

S E C T. XX.

This Marriage was on both Sides very indiscreet, for his Wife brought her Husband little or no Fortune; and his Death happening so suddenly [5], before he could make a sufficient Establishment for his Family, his Son (not then born) hath often been heard to say, that he felt the Consequences of that Marriage, not only through the whole Course of his Education

Kellams
4
T.C.D.
Oxford

Education, but during the greatest Part of his Life.

[5] HE died at the Age of about five and twenty.

b. 1640?
Hence he
died 1668
April

S E C T. XXI.

He was born in *Dublin*, on St. ANDREW's Day [6]; and when he was a Year old, an Event happened to him that seems very unusual; for his Nurse, who was a Woman of *Whitehaven*, being under an absolute Necessity of seeing one of her Relations, who was then extremely sick, and from whom she expected a Legacy; and being extremely fond of the Infant, she stole him on Ship-board unknown to his Mother and Uncle, and carried him with her to *Whitehaven*, where he continued for almost three Years. For, when the Matter was discovered, his Mother sent Orders by all Means not to hazard a second Voyage, till he could be

Je. After 30 Mos.
1668

Je. Until late
Fall of 1671

Swift recorded 16
Crossing (Voyage)
Leach & Pridmore to England
in 1704.

[^] Better "Than what? English crossing in winter of 1661
was a rough one, and a voyage hard on a one year
(xl) child?

*Prisoner to Fall
of 1671.*
*Turned Three on
30 Nov. 1671.*
*English Nurse
was a Protestant*
be better able to bear it. The Nurse
was so careful of him, that before he
returned he had learnt to spell; and
by the Time that he was three Years
old, he could read any Chapter in
the Bible.

*English that years
between late 1671
and 1673 he spent
with his mother in
Ireland? or else they
retained there?*
[6] IN the Year 1667.

S E C T. XXII.

*Turned six on
30 Nov. 1673.*
24 April 1682
After his Return to *Ireland*, he was
sent at six Years old to the School of
Kilkenny, from whence at fourteen
he was admitted into the University
of *Dublin*; where by the ill Treat-
ment of his nearest Relations [7], he
was so discouraged and sunk in his
Spirits, that he too much neglected
some Parts of his Academick Studies:
For which he had no great Relish by
Nature, and turned himself to read-
ing History and Poetry; so that when
the Time came for taking his Degree
of Batchelor, although he had lived
with great Regularity and due Ob-
servance

servance of the Statutes, he was stop-
ped of his Degree for Dulness and In-
sufficiency; and at last hardly admit-
ted in a Manner, little to his Credit,
which is called in that College, *Spe-*
ciali Gratia. And this discredit-
able Mark, as I am told, stands upon Re-
cord in their College Registry.

[7] ABOUT two Years after Dr. SWIFT
had been admitted into the University of
Dublin, the Misfortunes of his Uncle GOD-
WIN SWIFT, (who was at that Time the
Father of a numerous Progeny by four
Wives) occasioned by what I have told you
in the second Chapter of the Essay, began
to fall thick and frequent upon him from all
Quarters: <Nevertheless, he continued to
support his Nephew in the University as
well before as after he had taken his Degree
of Batchelor, although I verily believe in a
Manner somewhat less affluent> than was a-
greeable to the Spirit and Ambition of the
aspiring JONATHAN; or perhaps to what
JONATHAN himself had experienced the first
and second Year after his Admission into the
College. In short, as the Prosperity of the
bountiful and generous GODWIN, was in
Fact the Prosperity of all his Friends and
Relations, so the Adversity of the same GOD-

WIN

April
1684had 4 wives
c. 1682?10 15 Feb
1685/6See also
p. 17
£3000 p.a.April 1682
April 1684

WIN was equally the Adversity of all his Friends and Connexions. And among the rest, I will suppose, that JONATHAN felt in a very sensible Manner the Effects of his Adversity; but never was, I believe, in those Days acquainted with the Cause of that Deficiency which he could not but remark in the Scantiness of his Allowance. It was, I believe, thought sufficient to maintain him at the University, without making any Kind of Apologies to such a Boy as JONATHAN was at that Time; especially, if we consider, that he had been wholly depending on his Uncle from the Hour of his Birth, as well before as after that Period, until he arrived at the Age of twenty one Years. However, let that Matter have been as it would; sure it is, that Dr. SWIFT never loved his Uncle, nor the Remembrance of his Uncle, to the Hour of his Death; so deep were the Characters this Want of Money in the University of *Dublin* had engraven upon his Mind. And this in all Probability was the Reason, that he never would vouchsafe the least of his Interest to any of the Posterity of GODWIN throughout his whole Life.

See p 23
 vol 2 p 370
 (Promet of the house)
 Nov 20, 1665

S E C T. XXIII.

The Troubles then breaking out,
 he went to his Mother, who lived in
Leicester;

Leicester; and after continuing there
 some Months, he was received by Sir
 WILLIAM TEMPLE, whose Father had
 been a great Friend to the Family,
 and who was now retired to his House
 called *Moor-park*, near *Farnham* in
Surry, where he continued for about
 two Years: For he happened before
twenty Years old, by a Surfeit of
 Fruit to contract a Giddiness and
 Coldness of Stomach, that almost
 brought him to his Grave; and this
 Disorder pursued him with Intermis-
 sions of two or three Years to the End
 of his Life. Upon this Occasion he
 returned to *Ireland*, by Advice of
 Physicians, who weakly imagined
 that his native Air might be of some
 Use to recover his Health: But grow-
 ing worse, he soon went back to Sir
 WILLIAM TEMPLE; with whom grow-
 ing into some Confidence, he was
 often trusted with Matters of great
 Importance. King WILLIAM had a
 high Esteem for Sir WILLIAM TEM-
 PLE

Sir W.T. not
 Swift, Sep. 42.
 Jonathan Swift

TE. Before 30
 Nov. 1687

PLE by a long Acquaintance, while that Gentleman was Ambaffador and Mediator of a General Peace at *Nimeguen*. The King foon after his Expedition to *England*, vifited his old Friend often at *Sheen*, and took his Advice in Affairs of greateft Confequence. But Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, weary of living fo near *London*, and refolving to retire to a more private Scene, bought an Eftate near *Farnham* in *Surry*, of about 100 *l.* a Year, where Mr. SWIFT accompanied him.

S E C T. XXIV.

About that Time a Bill was brought into the Houfe of Commons for triennial Parliaments; againft which, the King, who was a Stranger to our Conftitution, was very averfe, by the Advice of fome weak People, who perfuaded the Earl of PORTLAND, that King CHARLES the firft loft his Crown and Life by confenting to pafs fuch a Bill.

while
 and
 time-
 xpe-
 old
 k his
 onse-
 PLE,
 and
 ivate
 Tarn-
 Year,
 him.

Bill. The Earl who was a weak Man
 came down to *Moor-park*, by his
 Majesty's Orders, to have Sir WIL-
 LIAM TEMPLE's Advice, who said
 much to shew him the Mistake. But
 he continued still to advise the King
 against passing the Bill. Whereupon
 Mr. SWIFT was sent to *Kensington*
 with the whole Account of that Mat-
 ter in Writing, to convince the King
 and the Earl how ill they were inform-
 ed. He told the Earl, to whom he
 was referred by his Majesty (and gave
 it in Writing) that the Ruin of King
 CHARLES the first was not owing to
 his passing the triennial Bill, which
 did not hinder him from dissolving
 any Parliament, but to the passing
 another Bill, which put it out of his
 Power to dissolve the Parliament then
 in Being, without the Consent of the
 House. Mr. SWIFT, who was well
 versed in *English* History, although
 he was then under twenty-one Years
 old [7], gave the King a short Account
 of

of the Matter, but a more large one to the Earl of PORTLAND ; but all in vain ; for the King by ill Advisers was prevailed upon to refuse passing the Bill. This was the first Time that Mr. SWIFT had any Converse with Courts, and he told his Friends it was the first Incident that helped to cure him of Vanity. The Consequence of this wrong Step in his Majesty was very unhappy ; for it put that Prince under a Necessity of introducing those People called Whigs into Power and Employments, in order to pacify them. For, although it be held a Part of the King's Prerogative to refuse passing a Bill, yet the learned in the Law think otherwise, from that Expression used at the Coronation, wherein the Prince obligeth himself to consent to all Laws, *quas vulgus elegerit*.

[7] It was first written, but afterwards erased in the original Manuscript *three and twenty Years old*, which in all Probability was right ; for, Dr. SWIFT was twenty one Years old the last Day of November 1688, and

and before that Period there could have been
no such Bill under Consideration.

S E C T. XXV.

[8] Mr. SWIFT lived with him (Sir W. TEMPLE) some Time [9], but resolving to settle himself in some Way of living, was inclined to take Orders [1]. However, although his Fortune was very small, he had a Scruple of entering into the Church merely for Support [2], and Sir W. TEMPLE then being Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, offered him an Employ of about 120*l.* a Year in that Office [3]; whereupon Mr. SWIFT told him, that since he had now an Opportunity of living without being driven into the Church for a Maintenance, he was resolved to go to *Ireland* and take Holy Orders [4]. He was recommended to the Lord CAPEL [5], then Lord Deputy, who gave him a Prebend [6] in the North, worth about 100*l.* a Year, of which growing weary in a few Months,

Months, he returned to *England*, resigned his Living [7] in Favour of a Friend, and continued in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S House till the Death of that great Man, who besides a Legacy [8], left him the Care, and Trust, and Advantage of publishing his posthumous Writings.

[8] I BELIEVE there are some Remarks in the latter Part of the fourth Chapter of the *Essay*, which, if carefully revised, might throw a good deal of Light upon several Obscurities in this Paragraph.

[9] FOR some Time] That is, for the Space of about five Years and a Half from the Year 1688 to the Year 1694, taking in to the Account some little Time he had spent at *Oxford*, *Leicester*, and *Dublin*.

[1] To take Orders] And that immediately, without loitering or dallying away his Time any longer, in hopes of being provided for by King WILLIAM. Vid. Dr. SWIFT'S Letter to his Uncle WILLIAM SWIFT, Chap. 4. of the *Essay*.

[2] Meerly for Support] Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE and SWIFT quarrelled just about this Period of Time. Vid. Dr. SWIFT'S Letter to his Cousin DEANE SWIFT, Chap. 4 of the *Essay*.

[3] THIS

[3] THIS Employment, which must have
 the Place of Deputy Master of the Rolls, Sir
 WILLIAM TEMPLE offered him in a Pas-
 sion, the Doctor being at that Time on the
 Point of leaving him, which he afterwards
 did in the Month of May 1694. Besides,
 Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE knew perfectly
 well, that SWIFT was no more qualified to
 perform the Business of that Office than he
 was to command a Regiment. And what is
 more; Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had promi-
 sed him the Certainty of a Church Prefer-
 ment at least a Year and a Half before;
 [Vid. Dr. SWIFT's Letter to his Uncle W.
 SWIFT] so that he was no Stranger to
 SWIFT's Intention of going into the Church.

*This is
 before 1694
 then?*

*2. August
 1697*

[4] An Answer extremely polite, and
 seemingly adorned with Gratitude; but at
 the same Time extremely resolute, and
 worthy of himself.

[5] Recommended to the Lord CAPEL]
 I believe we may suppose (by Sir W. T.) but
 that is a Point I am not absolutely sure of:
 However, I shall take it for granted, that he
 was just coldly recommended by Sir W. to
 the Lord CAPEL: For surely the Lord De-
 puty would have given him some better Pre-
 ferment than a Hundred Pounds a Year, if
 he had been heartily recommended to him
 by so great a Man as Sir WILLIAM TEM-
 PLE, who was undoubtedly at that Time,

d

and

THIS

and long before, thoroughly apprized both of SWIFT's Genius and Merit.

[6] The Prebend of *Kilroot* in the Diocese of *Connor*; which he resigned in Favour of a poor Man with many Children.

[7] Resigned his Living] by the Persuasion, or rather, I do verily believe, at the earnest Desire of Sir W. T. *Vide* Essay, ch. iv.

[8] A Legacy] which according to the best Conjecture that I can make, was five Hundred Pounds; or else the Legacy and what he made by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Works amounted to that Sum; for in the Year 1699 he was just worth so much and no more. *Vide* Essay, ch. iv.

*An Account of the
for 1698-1699*

S E C T. XXVI.

Upon this Event Mr. SWIFT removed to *London*, and applied by Petition to King WILLIAM, upon the Claim of a Promise his Majesty had made to Sir W. TEMPLE, that he would give Mr. SWIFT a Prebend of *Canterbury* or *Westminster*. The Earl of RUMNEY, who professed much Friendship for him, promised to second

and his Petition ; but as he was an
 d, vicious, illiterate Rake, without
 any Sense of Truth or Honour, said
 not a Word to the King. And Mr.
 SWIFT, after long Attendance in
 vain, thought it better to comply
 with an Invitation given him by the
 Earl of BERKLEY to attend him to *Ire-*
land, as his Chaplain and private Se-
 cretary ; his Lordship having been
 appointed one of the Lords Justices of
 that Kingdom. He attended his
 Lordship, who landed near *Water-*
ford, and Mr. SWIFT acted as Secre-
 tary during the whole Journey to
Dublin. But another Person had so
 far insinuated himself into the Earl's
 favour, by telling him that the Post
 Secretary was not proper for a
 clergyman, nor would be of any Ad-
 vantage to one who only aimed at
 Church Preferments ; that his Lord-
 ship, after a poor Apology, gave that
 office to the other.

S E C T. XXVII.

In some Months the Deanery of *Derry* fell vacant, and it was the Earl of BERKLEY's turn to dispose of it. Yet Things were so ordered, that the Secretary having received a Bribe, the Deanery was disposed of to another, and Mr. SWIFT was put off with some other Church Livings not worth above a third Part of that rich Deanery; and at this present not a sixth. The Excuse pretended was his being too young, although he were then thirty Years old [9].

[9] Thirty Years old :) He was then upwards of two and thirty Years old; for it was in the Month of *February*, 1693, that he was presented to the Rectory of *Agher*, and the Vicarages of *Laracor* and *Rathbeggan*, in the Diocese of *Meath*.

Account Book
for 1649-1700?

The E N D.

A N
E S S A Y
UPON THE
LIFE, WRITINGS, and CHARACTER,
O F
Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT.

C H A P. I.

THERE being a Sort of Curiosity
implanted in the Nature of Man,
which makes him desire to be ac-
quainted, with the Lives and Characters of
such exalted Persons, as have appeared with
Lustre on the Stage of this World; and, a-
bove all other, such as have employed their
Talents to the Benefit of the human Race
in general, and especially to the Advantage
of their own Country in particular; I fancy
there will be no Occasion that I should la-
bour any Kind of Apology, for presuming
B to

to gratify the Curiosity of the Publick with a short and cursory Essay upon the Life, Writings, and Character, of DR. JONATHAN SWIFT. Nevertheless, before I shall adventure upon so bold an Enterprize, I cannot but acknowledge, That beside that prodigious Veneration, which, among a thousand others, I bear unto the Memory of that intrepid Vindicator of his Country's Liberty, one of the chief Motives, which prevailed on me to engage in a Work of this Kind, was a decent Respect unto the Memory of some disinterested Spirits; whom those of an higher Quality and Station than has fallen to the Lot of their Posterity, might not have been ashamed to have acknowledged for their Ancestors. I declare, for my own Part, that after much Consideration, I am wholly at a Loss to conceive, what invidious Spirit, Enemy to Candour, Friendship, and Benevolence, could have instigated one of our modern Criticks to asperse the Remains of an old, faithful, and loyal Family, at so unmerciful a Rate; not one of them, to my Knowledge, having, either in past or present Times, given the least Umbrage to this Writer in particular, or indeed to any of his Name; the Author of the *Examiner*, No. 17, and of that celebrated *Meditation on a Broomstick* only excepted. Whether, indeed, the Grandfather of DR. SWIFT might, in the
Days

Days of CROMWELL, have insinuated any Accounts to the CAVALIERS, not much to the Honour, as the Course of Politicks then ran, of a certain Commander, who, for the Space of eleven Years, fought under the Banner of the USURPER, I cannot affirm. But, as there appear no Records to that Purpose, which carry the least Authority, (the Reverend MR. THOMAS SWIFT'S Letters to Sir EDWARD HARLEY*, written during the Time of the Usurpation, having, in all Probability, been either lost or mislaid among the several thousands of Manuscripts in the HARLEYAN Library) I begin to imagine, this fair and candid Writer was only of Opinion, that if he had remarked upon the Ancestors of DR. SWIFT with any Sort of Decorum, it would have been exalting the DOCTOR somewhat too far above the present Generation of Upstarts; the purest Blood of *England* having been almost all spilt in that hellish, fanatical Rebellion, which overturned the whole Constitution both of Church and State. Somewhat, nevertheless, might, without casting Aspersions, Reflexions, and Reproach, have been easily so contrived by this amazing Critick; and, perhaps, without offending the Grandeur of the Disdainful and the Proud; as to have given a Lustre and Variety to the Apparatus of his Critique;

B 2

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 12.

tique; which, for want of some little Decorations of that Sort, is, in the general Opinion of the World, like a Building in the midst of a Desert, without Roads or Avenues.

BUT further; it is, I think, universally allowed, That to excel the far greater Part of the human Species; and to be at least equal to the first, in Virtue, Politicks, Learning, Fortitude, and Abilities; are in themselves more than sufficient, wheresoever they appear, without any further Advantages from Birth, Title, or Fortune; to raise the Possessor into the highest Rank of Eminence. And yet, how sublime, how glorious soever, these Qualifications may be deemed; they are still, in the Eyes of the Proud and Contemptuous, rather to be endured in a Person of I know not what Sort of Family, than perhaps, in a great exalted Spirit, whose chief Ambition, with all his vast Abilities, was to emulate; and, if Providence threw it in his Way, to surpass the Virtues of his Forefathers; and to reject with Detestation every Colour of Action, that seemed to be unworthy of his Original. Such will appear to have been the Genius and Spirit of that prodigious Luminary of Wit, Politicks, and Learning, which shone, like another APOLLO, for such a Number of Years, in this our northern Hemisphere.

AND

AND here I cannot but lament, that after all the Merits of DR. SWIFT, and all the Sufferings of his Forefathers, it should unhappily fall to the Province of any Man that is sprung from the same Original, to vindicate their Labours, their Virtues, and their Deserts; the Envy, Malice, and Rancour, of the ill-natured Part of the World, being always ready to affix the Characteristick of Partiality, and, perhaps, the imputation of Falshood, on all Performances, wherein the Writer is supposed to have any the least Concern. But in this Case it happens somewhat unluckily for those, who are never so diabolically pleased, as when they imagine they have an Opportunity to reproach and to calumniate: That Envy, Malice, and Rancour, can have nothing more to do than to gnash with their Teeth, and to prey upon their own Vitals; the chief Materials of this rapid, this incorrect Essay, being extracted from Authors and Records of undoubted Reputation.

NEVERTHELESS, being thoroughly apprized of many and great Difficulties, which certainly must occur in the Progress of these Papers, I shall not presume to enter upon a Work of this Nature, without making some Sort of an Apology for those innumerable Defects, which, in Point of Judgment, although not in Point of Veracity, will, I am afraid, be objected against me. For, indeed,

critical Knowledge, further than to acquire some little Taste for Authors, I never pursued; neither was it ever in my Thoughts to publish a Treatise of that Kind; having really been always of Opinion, that a Man of Taste and Learning, without any further Proficiency in the critical Art, than what he collects from his own general Observations, is sufficient in himself to admire, and to condemn, to relish, and to abhor, whatever Pieces of Writing, either in Verse or Prose, shall happen to fall in in his Way. And therefore I cannot but entertain some distant Hope, that every fair, unprejudiced Person, who shall revise my Critique, will make all reasonable and candid Allowances for the Defects, and, perhaps, the Blunders, of a Writer, whose Ambition was never exalted to such a monstrous Degree, as to pretend to emulate the Pages of ARISTOTLE, LONGINUS, or QUINCTILIAN; or indeed among his Friends and Acquaintance to be called the ARISTARCHUS of the Age.

BUT, since our famous Critick seems to have exerted his whole Abilities in that vain Effort which he hath made, to pluck, tear, and ravish, not only the *civick*, but also the *laurel* Crown, from the Temples of DR. SWIFT; and with equal Generosity, Candor, and Humanity, to have racked, even to the last Degree of Torture, all the Faculties of his Brain, purely with a Design
to

asperse and degrade his whole Family, without any Provocation given on their Side, as I observed before; I cannot but flatter myself with an Opinion, that I shall meet with some Indulgence from the Friends of Truth and of DR. SWIFT, if I should happen to be a little more particular in the clearing up of these Matters, than perhaps would have been thought absolutely requisite, supposing the Reputation of his Ancestors had never been assaulted with such uncommon Severity. I am sure, the many Reproaches, which have been cast undeservedly upon the whole Name and Family, cry aloud for an Answer.

AS DR. JONATHAN SWIFT*, *Dean of ST. PATRICK'S, Dublin*, was descended from

* AS DR. SWIFT was apprehensive that his Life and Character would some Time or other become the Subject of a Treatise, he writ a very short Account of his own Life himself, about six or eight and twenty Years ago, in the Character of a third Person; which, in Reality, was merely designed as a Paper of Instructions for any one that should think it worth his Leisure to employ himself in that kind of Writing. This little Tract I have ordered the Printer to add in the Way of an *Appendix* unto this Volume. I have numbered the several Sections or Paragraphs, because I shall frequently refer to them in the Course of these Papers. I should be glad, if the curious Enquirer into these Matters, would please to run it over

Ed 1726 or
1728
(1727)

from a younger Branch of the SWIFTS, an antient Family in *Yorkshire*, I cannot suppose it will be deemed altogether impertinent, if I digress for one Moment, just to give a short Account of the elder Branch, and shew by what Accident the principal Estate of the Family became lost for ever.

IN the Reign of JAMES the *First*, that Person who was of the elder Branch, and was in Possession of the Estate of the Family, became so exceedingly remarkable for Wit and Humour, and especially for his abundant Gallantry, Politeness, and Accomplishments, that he passed universally under the Name of CAVALIERO SWIFT*. He was created an *Irish* Peer by King CHARLES the First, with the Title of Viscount † CARLINGFORD, but never was in that Kingdom. This Lord died without Issue Male, and his Heiress, whether of the first or second Descent, was married to ROBERT FIELDING, Esq. commonly called HANDSOME FIELDING. She brought him a considerable

without the Notes before he proceeds any further, which, to avoid References, might save him a good deal of Trouble; and afterwards, if he think it worth his while, to revise it with the Notes, when he is more at Leisure.

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 1.

† BARNAM SWIFT, Esq. created Viscount of CARLINGFORD in the Realm of Ireland, March 20th, 1627.

considerable Estate in *Yorkshire*, which he squandered away, but had no Children. The Earl of EGLINGTON married another Coheiress of the same Family. And thus we find, that for Want of Heirs Male, the principal Estate of the SWIFTS in *Yorkshire* was partly squandered away, and partly, I suppose, transmitted into the EGLINGTON Family.

ANOTHER of the same House, but one of the younger Branches, was Sir EDWARD SWIFT*, well known for his Attachment to the Constitution both of Church and State, in the Times of the great Rebellion and Usurpation. Whether he left Heirs or not, I cannot positively say; according to Report, he left either one or more Daughters. I have been told, that about fifteen or sixteen Years ago there was a Cause depending in the Courts of *Westminster* about some old Estate belonging to the Descendants of Sir EDWARD SWIFT, wherein two Persons of high Rank and Quality in *England* were deeply concerned. Their Disagreement, I think, was about the adjustment of their several Moieties of that Estate. And this inclines me to believe they are both descended from Sir EDWARD SWIFT by the Female Line.

HAVING dispatched in a few Words all that is requisite to be said of the elder, and
one

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 2.

one of the younger Branches of the Family of the SWIFTS; I shall now proceed to an Account of that other younger Branch, whereof the greater Part, settled in *Ireland*.

THE Founder of this Branch was the Reverend THOMAS SWHIT of *Canterbury*. How early this THOMAS in the Reign of ELIZABETH appeared in the Pulpit, I cannot affirm; but in the Year 1569, which was the Eleventh of that Monarch, we find he was collated to the Parish of St. ANDREW, in the City of *Canterbury*; where he continued without soliciting any further Preferment, to rejoice in the Affection of the Inhabitants*, and to acquire Reputation to himself for the Space of twenty-two Years.

UPON

* It is affirmed of this MR. THOMAS SWIFT, "That in his declining Age, he rejoiced not more in any worldly Blessing than in the Love of his People; and that on his Death-Bed, when it was questioned by his Friends, where his Body should be interred, he charged his Executor in his last Will, in these very Terms, *That his bones should rest in that Church where his People so intirely loved him.*" And the same Affection of the Inhabitants was continued to his Son WILLIAM, on account of which he returns them his Acknowledgements after he had been thirty Years their Parish Minister. Vid. Dedication of WILLIAM SWIFT's Sermon, which is in the Bodleyan Library.

UPON the Decease of THOMAS, WILLIAM SWIFT, at the Age of five and twenty, succeeded his Father in the Parish of St. ANDREW. WILLIAM seems to have inherited all the Virtues of his Father, and perhaps to have outshone him in Reputation; as indeed the Labours and Virtues of WILLIAM seem to have been wholly eclipsed by that superior Greatness and Generosity of Spirit, which appear to have animated his Son THOMAS in the Reign of CHARLES the *First*, as the Records * of those Times do abundantly manifest.

ABOUT the Year 1594 WILLIAM SWIFT, married the Heirefs of PHILPOT †, with whom he got a very considerable Estate. She was a capricious, ill-natured, passionate Woman. This couple lived together about thirty Years; then WILLIAM died, to the inexpressible Loss, and almost the Ruin of his Son; leaving his Wife in the full Possession of her own Estate, beside a considerable Share by Virtue of her Settlement out of her Husband's fortune.

THOMAS, the Son of WILLIAM SWIFT, who appears from every Colour of his Life, to have been born of an intrepid Spirit, and perhaps superior to every Consideration of this wretched World; soon after the decease
of

* You will meet with these Records in some of the Notes to the Appendix.

† Vid. Appendix, Sect. 4.

of his Father, deeming it unworthy of his Nature, to bear any longer with the Caprice, the Severity, and the Cruelty, of an unnatural Mother, purely on Account of any future Contingencies that he might expect upon her Decease, removed out of the Diocese of *Canterbury*, having accepted an Invitation from his particular Friend the Bishop of *Hereford*. In a short Time his Friend the Bishop presented him with ecclesiastical Benefices to the Value of about four hundred Pounds a Year, and particularly made him Vicar of *Goodrich* in *Herefordshire*, where he build a large, rambling House* upon his own Estate, in pursuance of a Plan, the most whimsical that was ever conceived in the Brain of an Architect. He married MRS. ELIZABETH DRYDEN, who derived her Lineage from the DRYDENS of *Chesterton*, an ancient patriot Family† in the

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 7.

† The following Account of their Patriotism is in that Poem, which DRYDEN has address'd to his honoured Kinsman JOHN DRYDEN of *Chesterton* in the County of *Huntingdon*, Esq;

Patriots, in Peace, assert the People's Right;
 With noble Stubbornness resisting Might:
 No lawless Mandate from the Court receive,
 Nor lend by Force; but in a Body give.
 Such was your gen'rous Grandfire; free to grant
 In Parliaments, that weigh'd their Prince's Want:
 But so tenacious of the common Cause,
 As not to lend the King against his Laws.

And

the Country of *Huntingdon*, as you may read in the Works of her Nephew MR. JOHN DRYDEN the Poet. Mr. SWIFT was the Father of ten Sons and four Daughters, all by this Wife. The Turbulence of the Times gave him an Opportunity to exert all his Virtues*. He preached; he travelled about; he projected Stratagems; he laboured in every Capacity for his King and Country. In the Course of that horrid rebellion, which at last overturned the whole Constitution, his Cattle and Stock were twelve times driven off his Land, his House was plundered two and fifty Times, and five Times set on fire by the fanatical Roundheads. His Wife was obliged to fly for Shelter to a Garrison that held for the King; his numerous Family were, under the Providence of GOD, supported by the Care and Discretion of a trusty and faithful Servant. Yet, in the midst of these Calamities, Mr. SWIFT mortgaged his Estate, to raise some little Money for the King; which, in a Manner † whimsical enough, and agreeable to the Turn of his own Genius, he presented to his Majesty at the Castle of *Ragland* in the Year 1645, immediately after

And in a lothsom Dungeon doom'd to lie,
 In bonds retain'd his birthright Liberty
 And sham'd Oppression, till it set him free. }

Vol. 3. fol. Edition, p. 100.

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 8, 9, 10.

† Vid. Appendix, Sect. 8.

ter that unfortunate Battle of *Naseby*, where, according to my Lord CLARENDON, both King and Kingdom were lost to all Intents and Purposes. And afterwards*, in the Year 1646, that rascally Committee of *Hereford* deprived him according to WALKER'S Account, of both his Church Livings, sequestered the Profits of his Estate, and likewise imprisoned him in the Castle of *Ragland*, not only for Scandal and Delinquency, but for his being in actual Service against the Parliament. From which Durance, after GOD in his Providence had restored him to his Liberty, he preached and prayed, and performed all the Duties of his Profession from House to House, especially throughout those Parishes, which, in better Times, had been committed to his Care, without Tythes or Stipend; and besides, had the Honor to persevere until his last Hour, which was in the Year 1658, an implacable Enemy to the URSURPER, and a faithful Subject to his lawful King †.

* Vid, Appendix, Sect. 11.
appendix, Sect. 13.

† Vid. Ap-

C H A P II.

HAVING in the former Chapter shewn by what Variety of Persecutions and Calamities the SWIFTS in *Herefordshire*, were reduced in their Fortunes almost to the want of Necessaries, (a more ample Account whereof you may still find in the Appendix) I shall in this accompany their Fortunes but a little further, being resolved to contract within a short Compass their very long Story, in order that I may bring the DR. upon the Stage of Action as soon as possible.

MR. THOMAS SWIFT above-mentioned, having recovered his Estate out of the hands of the Sequestrators, immediately sold the greater Part of it to clear off a Number of Debts, contracted in the Time of the Rebellion, and particularly that Sum which he had mortgaged it for to raise a Purse for the King, when his Majesty's Affairs were in the most desperate Condition. And after he had settled his Oeconomy within some reasonable Bounds, agreeable to his contracted Circumstances in the Time of the USURPER, he lived for about six or eight Years, one of the greatest Examples of Patience, Constancy, and Spirit, that ever appeared in *England*, and at last died about two Years before the Restoration of King CHARLES the *Second*, leaving a Widow behind him with about twelve or fourteen Children,

Children, depending for their Support on the Remainder of his small Estate, and some lay Tythes, amounting in Value to about one hundred Pounds a Year, which in those Days were in possession of the Family; his Chapter Lease in the Diocese of *Canterbury*, which was never renewed, having expired some little Time before his Decease.

b. 1624 ?
 GODWIN, the eldest Son of MR. THOMAS SWIFT, who was at that Time about the Age of Thirty-four, resolving to bestir himself in the Reparation of his shattered Circumstances, and to perform the Part of a Father unto his younger Brothers and Sisters, generously resigned the Profits of his Tythes, and little Estate, into the Hands of his Mother, which he made her a Present of during her Life, to support herself, and those Remains of the Family which continued in *Herefordshire*; and afterwards went over to *Ireland* at the Head of his four Brothers *, WILLIAM DRYDEN, JONATHAN, and ADAM, who were all bred to the Law. GODWIN himself was a Barrister of Gray's Inn, and his four Brothers were Attornies, all of them Men of Abilities, at least equal, if not superior to their Professions. In those Days *Ireland* was very moderately supplied with Lawyers or Attornies of any tolerable Reputation; the Rebellion, which had continued for many Years before, and was indeed but very lately suppressed, having thrown

* Vid. Appendix Sect. 16.

thrown almost all estates of Men into the Rank of Soldiers; and therefore it was certainly a very wise resolution in GODWIN and his four Brothers, to attempt the Reparation of their Fortunes in that Kingdom. In short, by their general Acquaintance, by their mutual Recommendation of each other, and especially by their own Merits, they all acquired (except DRYDEN and JONATHAN, who died young) very considerable Estates, and at the same Time displayed an open Generosity in their Houses, Furniture, equipage, and every Colour of their Expences. It is certain, that GODWIN'S Estate was greatly superior to all the Acquisitions of his Brothers; for in the Reign of CHARLES the second he was in Possession at one Time of three thousand Pounds a Year, which at present would be richly worth twelve thousand. But, unfortunate for his Posterity, he was the greatest dupe under the Sun with all his Abilities. He was the Father of fourteen sons and three daughters, nine or ten of whom lived to be Men and Women; and after his fourth and last wife *, who was in Truth one of the finest Women, and one of the greatest Beauties

N.B.
Tosas some
in 1654?
(see pp. xli
xlii)

Elinor Meade
married c. 1682?

C in

* ELINOR, the Sister of Sir JOHN MEADE, who was universally allowed to have been one of the finest Scholars and greatest Orators, that ever spoke at the Bar. His Character you may read at large in the first Volume of MRS. PILKINGTON'S *Memoirs*.

in the King's Dominions, had brought him seven sons * she was still in the Flower of her Age, being then about twenty-seven Years old, and consequently might, in all Probability, have brought him as many more. Every body will I am sure, acknowledge, that so numerous a Family required an immense Fortune to push them into the World with any Degree of Splendor; which I know was the Design of GODWIN, and which above all other Considerations he had the nearest at Heart, For, as in the younger part of his Life he had experienced all the Calamities to which his Father and Family had

* THOMAS, a younger Son of this Marriage, was supposed to have been one of the handsomest Men throughout all *Europe*. He had a good Share of Understanding, which was not quite uncultivated; but the Impetuosity of his Mind was not to be restrained within the Bounds of Moderation. He was a Man of great Vigor and Activity; but on all Occasions abundantly too fierce and impatient. He understood *Mathematicks* in general extremely well; especially those particular Branches requisite in the Time of War, to which he applied himself with great Assiduity for some few Months before he went into the Army; where principally on Account of these Accomplishments, he was in a Manner suddenly raised from being an Ensign to a Captain's Post; which I think he enjoyed but some few Days before he was killed a very young Man at the Battle of *Almanza*.

had been exposed by the Villainy and Malice of those cursed fanatical Roundheads; so the chief Bent of his Desire and Resolution was to leave his own Posterity as independent of the World as he possibly could. But this I have Reason to believe he carried to an Excess. For not content with all his great Acquisitions in the Business of his Profession, he ran into a thousand Projects, and consequently became the Dupe of a thousand Villains. He pursued fifty Kinds of Business in the City of *Dublin*, which he himself was wholly a Stranger to, but which indeed were carried on by a Parcel of Knaves, whose general View was to make a Purse for themselves, and afterwards to break and leave their Principal in the Lurch. These Projects from Time to Time cost MR. SWIFT many Thousands of Pounds. <But that Project, which above all other brought his Family almost to Ruin, was a violent Push that he made towards raising a new Fortune out of an Iron-Work in the County of Cavan, which undoubtedly might have turned to very considerable Account, if his other Affairs would have permitted him to attend personally upon such Kind of Business, in the same Manner as it proved highly advantageous to three others, that were concerned in Partnership with MR. SWIFT, whose Names are not worth our Remembrance. They were all so prodigiously enamoured

c. 1684
it goes to the?

*Sarah Lamb
Co. Cavan*

moured of this Project, that by general Agreement they twisted and blended all their own several Names together, and gave the Title of *Swanglinbar* to this *Peruvian* Estate, His three Partners minded their Affairs, and got Abundance of Wealth by these Hammers and Forges. But SWIFT, born to be the greatest Dupe that ever lived upon Earth, considered these Matters in the same Light he had been always used to consider every Thing else, For notwithstanding these Partners had neither Money nor Credit to engage in a Project so various and extensive, they had the Assurance to recommend it to Mr. SWIFT, and to persuade him to lay down the whole purchase Money for Lands, Leases and Woods contiguous to *Swanlingbar*. They also prevailed with him to expend out of his own Fortune all the Costs and Charges requisite to set these Iron-Works on Foot, and afterwards to carry them on successfully. And what is more extraordinary, they had the Finesse and Dexterity after these Purchases were made, to get themselves enrolled with Mr. SWIFT as equal Sharers in the whole of the Profits, he taking their no Securities for the Payment of their Quotas. A Madness surely in SWIFT, that is scarce to be paralleled throughout all History, unless it be in the Case of Grand Alliances among the Princes of this World, who are frequently imposed upon

upon just in the same Manner. However, these Engagements with Persons of little or no Fortune, how wild and extravagant soever they may be deemed, will still appear to have been wise and prudent, in Comparison of that Wisdom and Foresight which afterwards he exerted. For in the Multitude of his great Experience being thoroughly convinced that Care alone, without any Sort of Abilities, would be sufficient for all Purposes relating to his Concerns in the County of *Cavan*; away he sends down his own Coachman TOM. with his Wife the Cookmaid, to manage all his Affairs at this celebrated Forge. The Coachman he thought was a good sharp Fellow, and therefore not easily to be over-reached by the Managers of other People. And really the Fellow approved himself to be dextrous enough; for by the Confusion and shuffling of Accounts, like other great Ministers; and particularly by entering into Cabals with the greatest Knave belonging to the whole Confederacy; he contrived it so, that he brought in his Master ten or twelve thousand Pounds in Debt, when Money was at ten per Cent; and at the same Time raised a Fortune for himself of about fifteen hundred Pounds a Year. Such was the Rise of those People, who live down yonder in the Country. This I only mention carelessly by the Way, lest hereafter they might forget they were

1684-88?

descended from our menial Servants. But without raking any further into the Ashes of the Dead, or exposing the Character of a certain egregious Rogue to the Abomination of Men, I shall hasten to conclude this Part of my Narration; and observe, that in the Year 1693, immediately after the Decease of Counsellor GODWIN SWIFT, his Heirs were obliged to sell for the Payment of his Debts such a Number of his Estates, that not above the eighth Part fell to the Inheritance of his Children. All I shall say further is, that none had ever any Reason to complain of GODWIN, except his own Posterity. But as the whole of his Intention was principally directed to the furtherance of their Welfare in general, his Heirs, after some little grumbling among themselves, generously forgave the Misconduct of their Father, as I remember to have learned among the immediate Sufferers.

C H A P. III.

HAVING, I think, sufficiently removed all the Aspersions and Reproachful Insinuations, that have been raised against the Family of DR. SWIFT, I shall immediately enter upon his Life and Character, without insisting upon any further Particulars. But since the Doctor himself, as I told you before, hath written some Accounts

Dec. 5

1695?

See last page
(over)

counts of his own Life, which you will find in the *Appendix*, I shall in the Course of these Remarks touch upon those Points only in a summary Way; and observe in this Place, that DR. SWIFT's Father, JONATHAN SWIFT, married, when he was about the Age of three and Twenty, MRS. ABIGAIL ERICK of *Leicestershire*, descended from the most antient Family of the ERICKS; who derive their Lineage from ERICK * the *Forester*, a great Commander, who raised an Army to oppose WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, by whom he was vanquished, and afterwards employed to command that Prince's Forces. This MRS. ERICK brought her Husband little or no Fortune; and MR. SWIFT dying about two Years after his Marriage, before he could make a sufficient Establishment for his Family, left his Widow in very narrow Circumstances. But, her Husband's eldest Brother, Counsellor GODWIN SWIFT, received her into his Family with great Affection; where, about seven Months after the Decease of her Husband, she became the Mother of her second Child, the famous DR. JONATHAN SWIFT, who was born upon the 30th Day of November, 1667.

By all the Accounts that I can hear of the above-mentioned MRS. ERICK, the Doctor's Mother, she was a Woman greatly beloved

Married 1664?
Aged 24?
(b. 1640)

Married June
1664?
Died late
April 1667?

Born at
Godwin's
House 370.
Is at
Godwin's
House.
From the
House of his
Birth.
1667.

and esteemed by all the Family of the SWIFTS. Her Conversation was so extremely polite, chearful, and agreeable, even to the young and sprightly, that some of the Family who paid her a Visit near fifty Years ago at *Leicester*, speak of her to this Day with the greatest Affection. I am told she was of a generous and hospitable Nature, that she was very exact in all the Duties of Religion, and paid her Attendance at the publick Worship generally twice a Day, that she was a very early riser, and was always dressed for the whole Day 'at about six o'Clock in the Morning, in a Mantua and Petticoat; which, according to the Fashion of those Times she constantly wore; that her chief Amusements were Needle-Work and Reading, and that she was equally fond of both her Children, notwithstanding some disagreements that subsisted between them. <She had a small Annuity of twenty Pounds a Year, which her Husband had purchased for her in England, immediately after his Marriage; and which, I think, was her whole independent Fortune.> But the many valuable Presents she frequently received from her Husband's Relations, and particularly from his Nephews abroad in the Time of her old Age, to whom she was pleased to acknowledge very great Obligations, sufficiently made up for the scantiness of her Circumstances; insomuch that she

*Mrs Swift at
Leicester
c. 1704-5*

she declared in her latter Days (for indeed she was a Woman of an easy contented Spirit) that she was rich and happy, and abounded with every Thing.

THE Reader cannot but have observed in one of the foregoing Sections from what family MRS. ERICK was descended; but our sublime *Critick*, whose polite Reflexions on the Family of DR. SWIFT are obvious to the most careless Peruser of his *Remarks*, hath wholly suppressed the Account of MRS. ERICK's Genealogy; and really I think he is to be commended for it in Point of Judgment; because it hath been long a received Opinion, founded upon Experience, that Wisdom, Fire, Generosity and Spirit are as frequently derived from the Lineage of the Mother, as from the Lineage of the Father. The great Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE hath adopted the very same individual Sentiments, as we find in that Account which he hath given us of the old Princess Dowager of ORANGE, in the first Chapter of his *Memoirs*, where he saith, " That she was a
" Woman of the most Wit and good Sense,
" in general, that he had ever known; and
" that she had thereby a great Part in forming the Race of the Prince, [the late
" King WILLIAM] and the mighty Improvement it received from three very
" extraordinary Women, as well as three
" so great Men in the last Descents." But

surely

Lord Orrery

surely the least Advantage of that Sort was not to have been attributed to such a towering Genius as Dr. SWIFT; his own personal Abilities being in themselves, without any Kind of Lustre from Birth, Station, or Fortune, too bright and conspicuous to be considered without Envy, Rancour, and Detraction. But, if HORACE be right in his Observation, *Fortes creantur fortibus & bonis*; I believe the Author of the *Remarks* will find it no easy Matter, with all his own natural Philosophy, to account from what Source, unless it were from some particular advantageous Circumstances attending his Birth, Dr. SWIFT could possibly have derived that exalted Force of Spirit, which raised him almost above the whole World, and encouraged him to entertain, although with great Politeness, one of the most sublime Families in *Europe* with such a Freedom of Conversation, as would not have been endured in any other Mortal. You may remember what he saith, talking of his own Manners,

With Princes kept a due Decorum;
But never stood in Awe before 'em.

In his *Dialogue between RICHMOND LODGE and MARBLE-HILL*, (a Piece wherein you may find some of the best and finest Portraits of Dr. SWIFT in three or four different Attitudes that ever were drawn) we are also told

in

in his own ludicrous Way, that he generally spunged a Breakfast once a Week from the Princess of WALES; and, I believe, we may take his own Word for it, that he frequently used

To cry the Bread was stale, and mutter,
Complaints against the royal Butter.

Such Trifles, although Whims and Maggots in the Brain of Dr. SWIFT, could not have been supported by any Character but his own. I cannot tell what is the Meaning of it, but I think I have digressed unawares into critical Observations.

BUT to return more immediately to our present Design. < Dr. SWIFT's Voyage to *Whitehaven* *, where he was carried by his Nurse when he was a about a Year old, and his Return to *Ireland* about three Years after, gave Occasion to many ludicrous Whims and Extravagancies in the Gaiety of his Conversation. Sometimes he would declare, that he was not born in *Ireland* at all; and seem to lament his Condition, that he should be looked upon as a Native of that Country; and would insist, that he was stolen from *England* when a Child, and brought over to *Ireland* in a Band-box. > But sure it is, whatever the Motives were that prevailed on Dr. SWIFT to speak in this Manner, they were not

Age 1-4

See p. 31.

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 21.

not borrowed from any Sort of Contempt, which he had secretly entertained against *Ireland*, considered merely as a Nation, but rather proceeded from several other Sources, which in the Current of these Papers we shall have Occasion to remark. It is certain, that his chief Desire throughout his whole Life, was to recover a Settlement in that Country, from which his Father, and the greater Part of that Generation had been driven by the Iniquity of those hypocritical Times which preceded the Restoration; Times so replete with Instances of Bloodshed and Cruelty, as even to draw upon the Nation, although very unjustly, the Character of being bloody and cruel, from the Pen of one of the finest Authors now living. However, indeed, MONSIEUR VOLTAIRE, whose Accounts of our political Parties, and Struggles in Defence of our *Constitution* are weak, trifling, and superficial, ought to have considered, how impossible it is, that Cruelty and Blood-thirstiness can be agreeable to the Genius of a brave and free People. I would advise that Gentleman, before he pretends to throw out any more such invidious Remarks upon the People of *England*, to recollect the Massacre at *Paris*, with all its aggravating Circumstances, wherein ten thousand Hugonots, and among the rest five hundred *Barons*, Knights and Gentlemen, beside thirty thousand more in other Parts
of

of *France*, were all butchered on the Eve of the 24th of *August*, 1512 *. A Scene of Cruelty and Treachery and Murder beyond all the Barbarities, accumulated one upon another, that *England* was ever guilty of since the Creation of the World. But to return from this Digression ; Dr. SWIFT could neither say unto himself, I am descended from that Colony of *Engliſh*, which in the Days of old prevailed over the ABO-RIGENES of *Ireland*, and forcibly took Poſſeſſion of their Fields ; neither could he ſay, I am descended from that fanatical Army of Roundheads, which, after they had glutted their Inhumanity, their Rage, and their Cruelty, with the Blood of ſome hundred thouſand Women and Children, beſide a great Number of the aged, and other innocent Perſons, who had never reſiſted their Arms, obtained Half the Kingdom in Debentures ; and therefore, I ſhould be content with the Lot of my Inheritance. But, on the contrary, he muſt have ſaid, I am ſprung from thoſe, who with all their Might and Vigor oppoſed the Rebellion of *England*, until at laſt they were ſo oppreſſed beyond Meaſure, that in Queſt of a Maintenance, their Poſterity were forced to abandon their native Country. Is it therefore any Matter of Wonder, that as the Hart panteth after the Water Brooks, ſo the Spirit of Dr. SWIFT ſhould .

* Vid. D'Avila's History, B. 5.

should have panted after a Settlement in ENGLAND?

I WILL grant, moreover, that Dr. SWIFT could never endure to be called an *Irishman*, having really no Sort of Title to boast his Genealogy, like the O'BRIENS, O'NEILLS, O'CONNORS, O'ROURKES, O'DOWDS, M'CARTYS, M'DONNELLS, and several others, from any of those Families which are sprung from the MILESIA NS, or at least from the ABORIGINES*; such Families alone having a Title, in the Opinion of Dr. SWIFT, to be ranked as the Blood of the *Irish*. And surely, if there be no Gentleman descended from those Families, who would like to be called an *Englishman*, supposing that his Birth had happened at *Shrewsbury* in his mother's Return from *Bath*; the ABORIGINES of *Ireland* cannot be angry with their beloved Dr. SWIFT, for indulging the same Prejudice in favour of *England*?

BUT, sure it is, that Dr. SWIFT had several other Inducements for desiring a Settlement in *England*. All the vigorous Part of his Life, from the Age of twenty-one to forty-seven, he had spent in *England*, some few occasional Journeys to *Ireland* only excepted. In *England* he had contracted most of his Friendships. In *England* his Politicks were

* I term all those ABORIGINES, who were Inhabitants of *Ireland* before the Reign of HENRY the II^d.

were admired, and his Person was beloved :
 < But in *Ireland*, at least for some Years after
 the Queen's Death, his Politicks were de-
 spised, and his Person was detested. > Be-
 sides, he could not imagine that *Ireland* was
 a Place for exerting those innumerable Ta-
 lents, which GOD in his Mercy to these
 Kingdoms had so abundantly enriched him
 with. But thank Heaven, the Doctor was
 wholly disappointed in all his Views. For
 in *Ireland* he was forced to live in spite of
 his Inclinations ; and those HERCULEAN
 Politicks, which nothing could oppose, were
 the only Means, under GOD, which could
 have saved that unhappy Kingdom from
 Destruction in the Year 1724. But here-
 after we shall find a more convenient Op-
 portunity for enlarging upon that Variety of
 Benefits, which from Time to Time he con-
 ferred upon *Ireland*.

BUT to return from these Digressions to
 the Pursuit of our main Design. < Soon after
 Dr. SWIFT had been stolen from *England*,
 and brought over to *Ireland* in a Band-box,
 he was sent at six Years of Age to the School
 of *Kilkenny*, where having continued eight
 Years, he was admitted into the University
 of *Dublin* at the Age of about fourteen. > His
 Genius was by no Means turned to the Pur-
 suit of academick Studies, but *History* and
Poetry engrossed his whole Inclinations ; in-
 somuch, that when the Time came for his
 commencing

Swift in
Ireland 1714-
 1720.

Ireland ?
England ?
 (See p. 27)

commencing *Batchelor of Arts*, he was stopped of his Degree for Dulness and Insufficiency*, and at last hardly admitted in a Manner little to his Credit, which is called in that University *speciali gratiâ*. I remember, that a good many Years ago I had some Conversation with him upon these Matters. I told him, that he certainly must have been idle in those Days; but he assured me to the contrary, and declared, that he could never understand *Logick, Physicks, Metaphysics, Natural Philosophy, Mathematicks*, or any Thing of that Sort. (But I will tell you, said he, the best Jest of it all was, when I produced my *Testimonium* at *Oxford*, in order to be admitted *ad eundem*, they mistook *speciali gratiâ* for some particular Strain of Compliment, which I had received from the University of *Dublin* on Account of my superior Merit; and I leave you to guess, whether it was my Business to undeceive them.) And to this Mistake, I think, he attributed most of the Civilities he received at *Oxford*. He entered himself a Member of *Hart-Hall*, now *Hartford-College*, and took his Master of Arts Degree July 5, 1692.

WHAT I am going to relate will, I believe, astonish the World, as much as ever it astonished me, or any body else, and yet I am encouraged to proceed in my Account by an Authority which is so far above all Question, that

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 22.

See also
p 47.

Character of Dr. SWIFT. 33

that I think I should be guilty of Injustice to the Memory of the Doctor, if I wholly suppressed it. <Mr. WARREN *, the *Chamber Fellow* of Dr. SWIFT in the University of *Dublin*, and a Gentleman of undoubted Veracity, (whose Sister had made some very considerable Impressions upon the Doctor's Heart in the Days of his Youth) assured a Relation of mine, whom he courted for a Wife about eight or nine and forty Years ago, that he saw *The Tale of a Tub* in the Hand-writing of Dr. SWIFT, when the Doctor was but nineteen Years old; but what Corrections or Improvements it might have received before its Publication in the Year 1697, he could by no Means declare. However, it is amazing that any Creature of that Age should have had Learning and Capacity enough to frame so bold an Allegory in his own Brain, and afterwards be able to support it with any Degree of Spirit throughout a Number of Sheets. > I am, indeed, thoroughly persuaded from the Consideration of many Passages in the Work itself, that it must have endured many sharp Corrections, and likewise admitted a great Number of Improvements before the Year 1697. But still we must acknowledge, in spite of all

* WESSENDRA WARREN, Esq; a Gentleman of Fortune in the Neighbourhood of *Belfast* in the North of *Ireland*.

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See Deane Swift is correct spelling of "Mr. Warren" in a letter from him to Oney transcribed in extract in Howard MS. Eng. 2.18.14, pp 300-301. Present also of his remains when his country was closed early in 1735 to Swift *A Tale of a Tub* & *The Bicker* from 1710 ed. the 29 Aug 1735 says that no a body of present. "He showed it to Mr. Warren in Chamberfellor's of the College in his own hand writing." (p 301)

Cassini

1755	1754
49	48
1706	1706

See also pp 50
61, 64, 104

NB

See also p 389

all Detraction, that, properly speaking, (this great and mighty Bulwark of our glorious Reformation (which all the Batteries that ever can be raised against it, whether from *Rome* or *Geneva*, must assault in vain) is only the corrected Work of a Boy's Imagination.)

C H A P. IV.

BUT, I suppose, according to the Rules of Biography, I should, in the former Chapter, have mentioned the Name of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, before I had contrived to make Dr. SWIFT a Master of Arts in the University of *Oxford*. A Digression, however, in this Place, will appear on several Accounts to answer all material Purposes whatsoever equally as well, the Effects of that Friendship having supplied the Enemies of the Doctor with such a Parcel of nonsensical Ribaldry, Slander, and Calumny, as might have cost me a good deal of Pains before I could have entirely dispersed it to the Satisfaction of the World, if an utter Impossibility of its being Truth had not happily intervened. And yet, surprising to conceive! That *BENE PRÆPARATUM PECTUS*; That *QUINTESSENCE OF HUMANITY*; the *CRITICK GENERAL* of the Age; without any Provocation received, and consequently without any pretended Right to begin

gin so furious an Assault, hath taken Occasion from this infamous Slander (which even his own Pen hath sufficiently refuted) to asperse Dr. SWIFT, and his whole Family, with such an Amplification of Bitterness, Invective and Reproach, as I believe with all his Rhetorick, and all the Flirts of his merry Companion the little dapper MEIOSIS *, into the Bargain, he would find it no easy Matter to justify either to the living or to the dead.

BUT, before we enter upon a Discourse of those Favours which Dr. SWIFT in the early Part of his Life received from Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, it will be requisite to observe, that Sir JOHN TEMPLE †, master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, became soon after the Restoration of King CHARLES the second intimately acquainted with Counsellor GODWIN SWIFT, the Uncle of the Doctor, and this Intimacy by Degrees, improved into a warm, sincere, disinterested Friendship. Sir JOHN was elderly, a man of Fortune and

D 2

Character,

* MEIOSIS OR DIMINUTION, a little whiffling GNOME, commonly called a Figure in Rhetorick; which, like a Snake in the Grass, runs, and flies, and creeps, and hops, and diverts itself throughout all the Pages of our modern Criticks. The Food of this Animal is the Reputation of great Men, which it greedily devours in a Manner wonderful to conceive.

† Vid. Appendix, Sect. 23.

Character, and fixed in his Station. Counsellor SWIFT was in the Vigor of his Life, rising in Fortune, and famous at the Bar. I am sure from the Accounts I have heard, nothing was left undone by either of these Men, that could have promoted the Interest, or the Reputation of the other. <They spent much of their Time together, and as they frequently dined and passed the Remainder of the Day at each other's Houses, the whole Family of the SWIFTS became intimately acquainted with that open, generous, disinterested Man.> However, indeed, I am persuaded, that as the Fortune of Sir JOHN TEMPLE was conspicuously great, and far above all Accession of Increase from the Interest of his Contemporaries, at the Time his Friendship commenced with Counsellor SWIFT, the chief Tribute that he could possibly receive for Obligations conferred, especially on the younger Branches of that Family, was a Return of grateful Acknowledgments. <This Friendship continued for many Years without Interruption, even to the last Hour of Sir JOHN's Life.> And after the Decease of that great Man, the Family of the SWIFTS were not wholly forgotten by his renowned Posterity. It happened, perhaps, not unfortunately for Dr. SWIFT, that Sir JOHN's eldest Son, the famous Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, married a Lady to whom the Doctor's Mother was related; and

d. 1677-

and this Consideration, added to the Remembrance of old Friendships between the two Families, might easily have induced so great and generous a Man as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, to advise and direct a young Scholar of such amazing Abilities, but no Fortune, that was just upon the Brink of stepping into the World, as Dr. SWIFT then was, just about the Time of the Revolution. 1688
 But, let the Friendship of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE to this rising Genius have been what it would, our Critick's Account of it makes such a Fuss, and Racket, and Clatter, as plainly demonstrates the whole Relation to have been ushered in purely for the Sake of that elevated resounding Stroke, at the Close of one of his Paragraphs, so much to the Honor of his Friend SWIFT, and the Reputation of his Family; which, after all, is only Wit upon Crutches; and even that borrowed from the vilest and most nonsensical Dregs of Idolatry. Nevertheless, I grant with Pleasure, that Dr. SWIFT was obliged to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. But really, such a Torrent of Scandal, and such an Accumulation of Reproaches have been thrown upon Dr. SWIFT, meerly on this Account, that I believe a closer Inspection into these Matters will not be judged unnecessary; and therefore, I shall endeavour, as far as that Glimmering of Light, which happens to glance upon these Anecdotes, can

direct me in the Pursuit, to trace out the Nature and the Extent of those several Obligations.

1688. IT is clear to a Demonstration, that before Dr. SWIFT had in the Year 1688 gone to visit his Mother at * *Leycester*, where he continued for some Months before he went to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, he had been a Student for seven Years † in *Trinity College, Dublin*, a Length of Time sufficient to acquire all that Sort of Knowledge, wherein Universities do more especially abound; and therefore it cannot be supposed with any Colour of Reason, that he went to Oxford with any other View than to wipe off that Aspersions, contained in the Words *speciali gratia*, which had been thrown upon his Character in *Dublin*, by taking his Master's Degree in that other famous University. Aye, but saith the *Author of the Remarks*, "in the Midst of this distressful Situation [meaning the Loss which Dr. SWIFT had sustained in the Year 1688, by that Sort of Lethargy which had rendered his Uncle and chief Support incapable of being of the least Service to his Family and Friends] "as if it was ordained that no Incident should bereave Mankind of such a "Genius, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE (whose "Lady

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 29.

† Vid. Dr. SWIFT's Letter to his Uncle WILLIAM SWIFT.

See also *hyp.*
1. XLV part
1688
See 140
p. 56
192

“ Lady was related to Dr. SWIFT’s Mother)
“ most generously stept in to his Assistance,
“ and avowedly supported his Education at
“ the Univerſity of *Oxford*.” But in the
Name of all, that is either wiſe or learned
among human Race, what further Univerſi-
ty Education doth any Mortal upon Earth
require after he hath ſtudied for ſeven Years
in *Oxford*, *Cambridge*, or *Dublin*? I have as
great a Reſpect for Univerſities, and parti-
cularly for Univerſity Degrees, as any Man
can poſſibly entertain without running into
Blindneſs and Pedantry. But ſurely, when
a Man hath been reſident for three Years Feb. 16 1686—
after taking his *Batchelor’s Degree*, and is Pl. 1687/9
juſt prepared for commencing a *Maſter of*
Arts, the meer Performance of the required
Exerciſes upon thoſe Occaſions, cannot be
deemed in the Eye of common Senſe to be
any Thing more than a proper, decent
Conformity to thoſe Ceremonies, which are
with great Wiſdom appointed by the Sta-
tutes, for exalting young Men into an high-
er Rank among the Profeſſors of Learning?
But ſtill methinks I hear it ſaid, *Notwith-
ſtanding all this*, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE
avowedly ſupported his Education at Oxford;
a Point which, conſidering the many Re-
proaches lately thrown upon the Doctor,
requires to be cleared up as accurately as
poſſible, and therefore I ſhall proceed to
enquire into this Matter with the utmoſt
Caution,

Caution, tracing the Footsteps of Dr. SWIFT from the Year 1688 until the Death of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in the Year 1699.

80 138
56
DR. SWIFT in the Year 1688 having observed that his Fortunes began upon the Insanity of his Uncle to be clouded with a melancholy Aspect, took a Journey to *Leicester**, in order to consult with his Mother what Course of Life he had better resolve to pursue. And accordingly, having acquainted his Mother (who by all Accounts had a very clear Understanding) with the unhappy Situation of his Affairs, she returned him an Answer to this Effect:

“ I really cannot tell in your present Circumstances what Advice to give you, but
“ suppose you would apply yourself to Sir
“ WILLIAM TEMPLE, who is both a
“ great and a wise Man? I cannot but
“ think he would at least give you some
“ Directions, and perhaps, if he were acquainted with your uncomfortable Situation, recommend you to some kind of
“ Employment either in Church or State.
“ His Lady you know is a Relation of ours,
“ and besides, his Father, Sir JOHN TEMPLE, had a Regard and Friendship for
“ your Father and for your Uncles until his
“ last Hour. Go your Ways in the Name
“ of GOD to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and
“ upon asking his Advice, you will immediately

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 23.

“diately perceive what Encouragement or
“Preferment you are likely to expect from
“his Friendship.” This Conversation alone
might easily have prevailed on so discerning
a Spirit as Dr. SWIFT to pay his Respects to
so great a Man as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE,
whose Virtues and Abilities were highly
and deservedly esteemed as well by the King
as by the whole Nation. And yet I cannot
presume to say that Dr. SWIFT himself be-
fore he left *Ireland*, might not have encour-
aged some Design of this Sort within his
own Breast, as it is in Truth morally impos-
sible but that he must always have known he
was related by his Mother to Sir WIL-
LIAM’s Lady, and that between the two Fa-
milies of Sir JOHN TEMPLE and the SWIFTS
there had been old Friendships, which
seems to be hinted at in the Beginning of
the 23d Section of the *Appendix*, although
in a Manner not so clear as the present Oc-
casion requires. But whatever Motive it
was that prevailed on Dr. SWIFT to wait
upon Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, whether it
was the prior Determination of his own
Breast, or whether it was the Persuasion of
his Mother, or whether it was the Invita-
tion of Sir WILLIAM himself, sure it is,
that he was received with Kindness and Be-
nevolence by that great and generous Mini-
ster.

DR.

1688-89

DR. SWIFT having paid his Respects to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE at the Age of one and twenty, it amounts to somewhat more than a bare moral Impossibility that so great and wise a Statesman, thoroughly versed in all the Windings and Turnings of human Nature, as Sir WILLIAM undoubtedly was from his great Experience both at Home and Abroad, should not immediately perceive what a Treasure was offered to his Friendship by this amazing and exalted young Genius, whose Abilities had been employed for seven Years in all the noblest Researches both of *Greek* and *Roman* Literature, whether among Poets, Historians, or Philosophers. And accordingly we find that his Talents were soon remarked*, and his Person highly esteemed by that sagacious Minister. The first Time he went to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, he continued with him for two Years†; during which Period it is unreasonable to suppose that he had never acquainted Sir WILLIAM in all their Variety of Conversation with that Indignity which had been thrown upon his Character in the University of *Dublin*. But whatever might upon that Occasion have been the Sentiments of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, we do not find that SWIFT immediately took a Journey to *Oxford* in order to perform the Requisites

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See p. viii. D.S.
mss. (L. 7)
"he" = Swift when
it should refer to
Sir W.T.?

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 23, 24.

† Vid. Appendix, Sect. 23.

Requisites for his *Master's Degree*; but on the contrary that he returned to *Ireland* for the Recovery of his Health; where growing worse, he soon went back to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, with whom rising into some Confidence, he was often trusted with Matters of great Importance. Thus far we may learn from the 23d Section of the *Appendix*.

AND here in Justice to the World (and perhaps in Justice to myself) I shall embrace an Opportunity of acquainting the curious Enquirers into the several Anecdotes relating to Dr. SWIFT, that pursuant to an Account I received from *England* so very lately as the Month of *December* fifty-three, I have had the Pleasure to erase two or three Leaves in this Part of my Essay, wherein it happened that I was greatly mistaken with Regard to the Doctor's Residence at *Oxford*, and to the *Æra* of his taking his Master's Degree in that Univerſity, *as* indeed within these two Years I have corrected many Opinions concerning the Doctor which I had before entertained. > It certainly were to be wished that Dr. SWIFT in that Piece of a Treatise which he writ upon the Subject of his own Life had not been wholly silent concerning his Matriculation at *Oxford*, and the precise Length of Time which he spent in that famous Academy. But to speak freely my own Sentiments, I believe he was desirous

Dec. 1753.
Book finished
Dec. 31, 1754. See
p. 396.

1751-53.

desirous (meerly through Indignation against the University of Dublin, where he thought he had been ill treated) that the World should imagine he had been resident more Years at Oxford than appears in Fact that he had resided Months in that delightful Scene of Retirement. He would sometimes drop a Word of his going from Oxford to Leicester upon a Visit to his Mother; which it is not improbable he might have done once during the Time he continued a Member of that University: He would also at particular Times drop a Hint of his going from Oxford to Moore-Park, which I verily believe he did; but at the same Time, from the late Accounts I received, I as verily believe that he never returned from Moore-Park to Oxford; and yet in former Days, when I thought he had taken his Master's Degree in the Year ninety-one, that was not my Opinion. But to avoid a long Descant upon these Matters, we may take it for granted, that upon his resolving to go into the Church, he looked upon it as a proper Expedient for his Advancement in the World with a good Grace, to enter himself a Member of the University of Oxford, and take his Master's Degree in that Seat of the MUSES. However indeed we cannot presume, as I observed before, that he went to Oxford with any real Design to pursue academick Studies, which in Fact he neither relished
nor

Sept. 35,

More likely
between Aug-
Dec. 1691?

June-Aug. 1692?

Oct. 1692?

nor understood *, but rather to perform the common Requisites appointed by the Statutes of *Oxford* as preparatory to his Degree. And accordingly we find that upon his exhibiting at *Oxford* his *Testimonium* from the University of *Dublin*, he was admitted *ad eundem* the 14th of *June* 1692, and upon the 5th of *July* in three Weeks after he took his Master's Degree, as appears in the following Certificate:

DR. SWIFT'S Certificate of his Degree taken at *Dublin*, sent to *Oxford*, and extracted from the Congregation Book by the Reverend MR. FRANCIS WISE, B. D. and F. A. S. Keeper of the Archieves of the University of *Oxford*. Communicated by RICHARD RAWLINSON, L. L. D. and F. R. et Aut. S. V. P.

OMNIBUS quorum interest Salutem.
Nos præpositus Sociique seniores Collegii Sacro-sanctæ & Individuæ Trinitatis juxta *Dublin* testamur JONATHAN SWIFT
decimo

* It is known to have been a common Saying among his old Cotemporaries, after they had observed the great Figure which the Doctor made in the learned World, " That when he was a young Man in the University of *Dublin*, he never understood one Word of STIERIUS or SMIGLESIUS. But — for Cards and Poetry —."

One of Deane Swift's sources

decimo quinto Februarii 1685 Gradum Baccalaureatus in Artibus suscepisse, præstito prius Fidelitatis erga regiam Majestatem Juramento; Quod de prædicto Testimonium subscriptis singulorum Nominibus et Collegii Sigillo quo in hisce utimur confirmandum curavimus. Datum Die tertio Maii 1692.

May 3, 1692.

Rob. Huntington Præpos. L. S.

St. George Ashe,
Rich. Reader,
Geo. Brown,
Ben. Scroggs.

June 14, 1692

Quibus in venerabili Congregatione Magistrorum regentium 14 Die Junii 1692 habitâ publicatis JONATHAN SWIFT (Gratiâ* prius petitâ et concessâ) ad eundem Gradum, Statum, et Dignitatem, admissus fuit apud Oxonienses, quibus insignitus eras apud suos Dublinienses.

10 Nov^r 1753,

Vera Copia

RIC. RAWLINSON.

MA, July 5, 1692

JONATHAN SWIFT, M. A.
Hart Hall, July 5, 1692.

See also Nichols (1801), II, 234
for July 4, '93 dispensation
for not declaring
in Lent term.

THE Curious, I know, will be somewhat amazed to find no such Words in the above
Testimonium

Testimonium as *specialia Gratiâ**. The Omission of them was undoubtedly an Act of Favour in the University of *Dublin*, as there was by no Means an absolute Necessity for branding the Reputation of a young Man, with such ignominious Characters. But how shall I vindicate what I have said in the latter Part of the preceding Chapter, about the University of *Oxford's* mistaking *specialia Gratiâ* for some particular Strain of Compliment to the Doctor, on Account of his Superior Merits? The shortest Vindication is perhaps the best, Why then, by all the Regards I have for Truth, and by all the Desires I have to be thought a Man of Veracity, I had the Story from the Doctor's own Mouth, delivered exactly in the same Sense, and almost in the same Words I have used upon that Occasion. The only Difficulty then remaining, is to account from what Variety of scattered Anecdotes the Doctor, who was undoubtedly a Man of great Veracity, should frame such an odd kind of a Story in relation to his *Testimonium*. I am inclined to believe that DR. SWIFT's Resolution of taking his Master's Degree was occasioned by a sudden impulse of the Mind, upon his first Determination of going into the Church; that he writ over to *Ireland*, and desired the Answer to his Letter with his *Testimonium* inclosed, might be directed

p. 32.

See note
p. 59, 49
389
See his modern
words, p. 40,
c. 1689.

to

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 22.

to be left for him at the Post-House in *Oxford*; and that he set out upon his Journey from *Moore-Park* just Time enough, as he apprehended, to meet the Answer to his Letter, without making any Allowances for those Delays which are the usual Obstructions to all Sorts of Business. I will suppose likewise, that he came to *Oxford* a Fort-night or three Weeks before his *Testimonium* arrived; and that being conscious to himself that his Batchelor's Degree had been obtained *speciali Gratiâ*, he had not (through Inexperience of the World) any the most distant Idea of receiving a *Testimonium* with the Omission of those Words; and therefore as he daily expected a Letter from *Ireland*, he was resolved to appear generous, by declaring beforehand to some Acquaintance in *Oxford*, that his Batchelor's Degree had been conferred on him *speciali Gratiâ*; but finding the Expression was not understood in that University (where there is no such Custom) he concealed the Reproach which it conveyed in *Dublin*; and the Story being told with an Interpretation to his Advantage, it proved rather an Honour than a Discredit to him in that learned Society. Perhaps Ideas of this Sort floating and mixing with Variety of other Notions, begot at last this whimsical Story in the Doctor's Imagination, which I am thoroughly persuaded he believed to be true, as the Omission

E. 23 May -
1 June 92

on of the Words *speciali Gratia* in his *Testimonium* certainly escaped his Memory. Neither can there be assigned any possible Reason, why the Doctor should in his latter Days have invented such a whimsical Tale, and imposed it for Truth upon his Acquaintance, had he suspected the Story was wrought up with any Mixture of Fable. And yet, after all, this Manner of accounting for the Failures in the Doctor's Memory, is offered to the Publick only by Way of a Conjecture of my own, which is therefore intirely submitted to their Judgment and Candor.

BUT to return from these material Digressions; let us try then (as in *Oxford* there is no Expence worth naming which attends the taking of a Master's Degree, unless it be in the Case of a *grand Compounder**) what this uncommon Munificence of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE amounts to. Suppose, for Argument's sake, that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who was indeed perfectly well acquainted with the narrowness of the Circum-

* Whoever is in actual Possession of forty Pounds a Year, or in lieu thereof, according to the best of my Remembrance, of a thousand Pounds in Money, is obliged by the Statutes of *Oxford* to take his several Degrees as a *grand Compounder*, which in Fees and other Expences amounteth to a pretty large Purse.

cumstances of his young Friend, should have made him a present of a small Purse when he set out from *Moore-Park*, upon his Journey to *Oxford* (which however does by no Means appear from the Acknowledgments of DR. SWIFT) is there any Thing very amazing in such an Instance of Benevolence? I hope not. Surely I may venture to say, there are twenty Thousand Actions done every Year in these Kingdoms of at least equal Generosity? But, that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, allowing that he had given the author of *the Tale of a Tub** some trifling Present, should avowedly support his Education at *Oxford*, that is, blaze it to all the World, and sound a Trumpet to his own Fame, is what I can never imagine to be at all consistent with the Character of a great and generous Spirit; and therefore I can never suppose that so accomplished and wise a Man as Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, could have been guilty of such poultry, nonsensical Vanity. Besides, we are to consider, that let the Doctor's Revenue have been supplied from what Springs soever, his Greatness, and Generosity of Nature, would have scorn-

* *The Tale of a Tub* was not published before the Doctor went to *Oxford*, but I have Reason to believe that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE saw it in Manuscript before that Period. And the Reader I fancy will be of the same Opinion before he concludes this Chapter.

See also of
pp 33, 34
104.

ed to make a Parade with Money that he was beholden for to others: And therefore it must be granted, that he was far from indulging any Extravagance at *Oxford*. And surely without Extravagance to some high Degree, his whole Expence at the University for a short Time could only have amounted to a Trifle? Yet after all that has been said by the Author of the *Remarks*, and all the Conjectures that I have made, or indeed can make, in Favour of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S Generosity, we do not find any Acknowledgements of DR. SWIFT to Sir WILLIAM upon that Score, but rather a Silence, which implieth the contrary, as we may observe in a Letter of his published in the Eighth Volume of his Works, which I am heartily sorry was ever thrown into that wild Collection of his Posthumous Writings. His Words are these, addressing himself to my Lord PALMERSTON, " I own
 " my Obligations to Sir WILLIAM TEM-
 " PLE for recommending me to the late
 " King, although without Success, and for
 " his Choice of me to take Care of his Post-
 " humous Writings. But I hope you will
 " not charge my being in his Family as an
 " Obligation; for I was educated to little
 " Purpose if I had chosen his House on any
 " other Motives than the Benefit of his
 " Conversation and Advice, and the Oppor-
 " tunity of pursuing my Studies. > For be-
 " ing

“ ing born to no Fortune, I was at his
 “ Death as much to seek it as ever: And
 “ perhaps you will allow that I was of some
 “ use to him. This I will venture to say,
 “ that in the Time when I had some little
 “ Credit, I did fifty Times more for fifty
 “ People from whom I never received the
 “ least Service or Assistance; yet I should
 “ not be pleased to hear a Relation of mine
 “ Reproaching them with Ingratitude, al-
 “ though many of them well deserve it.
 “ For, Thanks to Party, I have met in
 “ both Kingdoms with Ingratitude e-
 “ nough.”

I FREELY acknowledge, that when I first
 cast my Eye upon these Words I was great-
 ly surpris'd, having in Truth been always
 of Opinion, before I was acquainted with
 this Account, that among other Obligations
 to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, the Doctor had
 been oblig'd to him for at least Part of his
 Revenue in that early Season of his Life.
 But, as the Case stands, I am inclin'd to be-
 lieve, that if not the Whole, the greater
 Part of that Money which supplied all his
 Occasions, whether at *Oxford*, *Moore-Park*,
 or any where else, from the Year 1688 un-
 til he was presented by the Lord CAPEL to
 the Prebend of *Kilroot*; about the latter End
 of the Year 1694, were Remittances that he
 received from his Uncle WILLIAM SWIFT,
 and particularly from his Cousin-german
 WIL-

WILLOUGHBY SWIFT *, who was in those Times a very considerable Merchant at *Lisbon*; whose paternal Kindness, Liberality and Affection to a great Number of his Relations, and particularly to DR. SWIFT among the rest, as well as to all the numerous Progeny of his Father, can never be sufficiently praised or acknowledged by the Family.

Vivet extento Proculeius Ævo,
Notus in Fratres Animi paterni:
Illum aget Pennâ metuente solvi
Fama superstes.

Hor. Lib. 2. Od. 2.

To this Merchant DR. SWIFT is pleased to acknowledge great Obligations in a Letter to his Cousin DEANE SWIFT, who was then at *Lisbon*. For the Satisfaction of the World I shall venture to publish this Letter, merely because it is a Voucher under the Doctor's own Hand to prove what is here asserted, but not with a Design to have it criticised upon as a Work of Genius, although I cannot say, if it be considered as

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* WILLOUGHBY SWIFT was the second Son of GODWIN SWIFT, Esq. by his first Wife, who was a near Relation of the old Marchioness of ORMOND; but in the Year 1688, and for some Years before, he was the eldest Son that GODWIN had living.

an Epistle from a young Man a little above Six and Twenty Years old, to an intimate Friend and Relation, who was at that Time but just turned of Twenty, that it will appear in a very mean or contemptible Light. His Epistle runs thus:

Leicester, June 3d, 1694.

I received your kind Letter to day from your Sister, and am very glad to find you will spare time from Business so far as to write a long Letter to one you have none at all with but Friendship, which as the World passes, is perhaps one of the idlest Things in it. 'Tis a pleasure to me to see You sally out of your Road, and take Notice of Curiosities, of which I am very glad to have Part, and desire You to set by some idle minutes for a Commerce which shall ever be dear to Me, and from so good an Observer as you may easily be, cannot fail of being useful. I am sorry to see so much Superstition in a Country so given to Trade; I half used to think those two to be incompatible. Not that I utterly dislike your Processions for Rain or fair Weather, which as trifling as they are, yet have good Effects to quiet common Heads, and infuse a gaping Devotion among the Rabble. But your burning the old Woman, unless she were a Duegna, I shall never be reconciled to; though

though it is easily observed that Nations which have most Gallantry to the Young, are ever the severest upon the Old. I have not Leisure to descant further upon your pleasing Letter, nor any thing to return You from so barren a Scene as this, which I shall leave in four Days towards my journey for *Ireland*. I had designed a Letter to my Cofin WILLOUGHBY, and the last Favour He has done me requires a great deal of Acknowledgment, but the Thoughts of my sending so many before, has made me believe it better to trust You with delivering my best Thanks to Him, and that You will endeavour to persuade Him how extream sensible of his goodness and generosity I am. I wish and shall pray, He may be as happy as he deserves, and he can not be more. My Mother desires her best Love to Him and to You, with both our Services to My Cofin his Wife.

I FORGOT to tell You I left Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE a month ago, just as I foretold it to You, and every thing happened thereupon, exactly as I guest, He was extream angry I left Him, and yet would not oblige Himself any further than upon my good Behaviour, nor would promise any thing firmly to Me at all; so that every Body judged I did best to leave Him; I design to be ordained September next, and make what Endeavours I can for something in the Church;

I wish it may ever lye in my Cousin's way or Yours to have Interest to bring me in Chaplain of the Factory.

If any thing offers from Dublin that may serve either to satisfy or divert You, I will not fail of contributing, and giving You constant Intelligence from thence of whatever you shall desire.

I am your affectionate Cousin
and Servant

J. SWIFT *.

AND beside the Acknowledgements of the Doctor to his Cousin WILLOUGHBY SWIFT in the above Epistle, I have a Letter from the Doctor's Mother to her Nephew DEANE SWIFT, dated Aug. 10, 1703, wherein she expresseth herself in the following Terms;

" Pray be pleased to present my best Service
" to my good Nephew SWIFT [WILLOUGH-
" BY SWIFT] and tell him I always bear in
" my Heart a grateful Remembrance of all
" the Kindness he was pleased to shew my
" Son." A Proof, in my Opinion, that her

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Son JONATHAN was chiefly supported after the Infanity of his Uncle by this Merchant at Lisbon.

Hannah Swanton

HAVING lately conversed with Mrs. * *, the eldest Daughter of MR. WILLOUGHBY SWIFT, upon the Subject of the above

* N. B. This Letter is printed exactly from an authentick Copy taken from the Original.

above Letter from DR. SWIFT, which I had found some two or three Days before among my Father's Papers, she told me a whimsical Story which she had heard many Years ago from the Doctor himself. It happened when he was at the University of *Dublin*, that one Day as he was looking out of his Window pensive and melancholy, his Pockets being then at the lowest Ebb, having spied a Master of a Ship gazing about in the *College Courts*, LORD thought he, if that Person should now be enquiring and staring about for my Chamber, in order to bring me some Present from my Cousin WILLOUGHBY SWIFT, what a happy Creature should I be? He had scarce amused himself with this pleasing Imagination, when behold the Master of the Ship having come into his Chamber, asked him if his Name was JONATHAN SWIFT? He told him it was. Why then, said the Master, I have something for you that was sent to you by Mr. WILLOUGHBY SWIFT; whereupon he drew out of his Pocket a large greasy Leather Bag, and poured him out all the Money that it contained on the Table. As the Sum which he had now received was much greater than ever in his Life he had been Master of before at any one Time, he pushed over without reckoning them a good Number of the Silver Cobs (for it was all in that Specie) to the honest Sailor, and desired

red he would accept of them for his Trouble. But the Sailor would not touch a Farthing. No no, Master, said he, Ize take nothing for my Trouble, I would do more than that comes to for MR. WILLOUGHBY SWIFT. Whereupon JONATHAN gathered up the Money as fast as he could, and thrust it into his Pocket; for, by the Lord HARRY, said he, I was afraid if the Money had lain much longer upon the Table he might have repented his Generosity and taken a good Part of it. But from that Time forward he declared that he became a better Oeconomist, and never was without some little Money in his Pocket.

IN the following Letter to his Uncle WILLIAM SWIFT, you will find the Doctor expresseth himself with Abundance of Gratitude, for the many Obligations and Favours he had received at his Hands. The Letter itself appears from the turbulent Disposition of the Words in the first Sentence, to have been written quite Extempore, and therefore only merits our Regard so far as it helps to clear up some Passages in the Doctor's Life, especially those we have been so long insisting upon in this Chapter. This Letter, although very imperfect, sufficiently points out all that we can desire to collect from it upon this Occasion.

Moore

Moore-Park, Nov. 29, 1692.

Sir,

My Sister told me you was pleased (when she was here) to wonder I did so seldom write to you. I have been so kind to impute it neither to ill Mann Re-
spect. I always thought that sufficient from one who has always been but too Troublesome to you: Besides I know your Aversion to Impertinence, and God knows so very private a Life as mine can furnish a Letter with little else, for I often am two or three Months without seeing any Body besides the Family; and now my Sister is gone I am likely to be more solitary than before. I am still to thank you for your Care in my Testimonium, and it was to very good Purpose, for I never was more satisfied than in the Behaviour of the University of Oxford to me. I had all the Civilities I could wish for, and so many Favours, that I am ashamed to have been more obliged in a few Weeks to Strangers, than ever I was in seven Years to Dublin College. I am not to take Orders * till the King gives me a Prebendary; and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, tho' he promises me the
Certainty

* You may observe from this Passage, that he does not speak of going into the Church as a Point of News to his Uncle,

Certainty of it, yet is less forward than I could wish, * because I suppose he believes I shall leave him †, and upon some Accounts §, he thinks me a little necessary to him

If I were

Entertainment, or doing you any Satisfaction by my Letters, I should be very glad to perform it that Way, as I am bound to do it by all others. I am sorry my Fortune should fling me so far from the best of my Relations, but hope that I shall have the Happiness to see you some time or other. Pray my humble Service to my good Aunt and the rest of my Relations, if you please.

I CANNOT tell whether it be consistent with Reason to form a Critique upon the Stile and Abilities of an Author from any such trifling and careless Performance as the above extemporaneous Epistle, which was never intended to have been seen by the Publick. Neither can I presume to assert whether or no the Genius of the Doctor were then arrived to any Degree of Ripeness. Nov 29, 1692 However, this I am sure of, that his Faculties

* Here are the Grounds of a Quarrel which happened between him and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in the Year 1694.

† Which at last was the Cause of a good deal of Anger in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

§ Because at that Time he was employed in the Revisal of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Works.

Faculties were employed at that very Period of Time in revising the Works of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, in correcting the *Tale of a Tub*, and writing the bitterest Satyre * that ever was conceived in the Brain of an Author, against all the Generations of Criticks, from ZOÏLUS † and TIGELLIUS §, who begat ETCÆTERA the elder, even to PER-
RAULT

Nov 24, 1692

See pp. 33, 50, 64, 104.

* Vid. *Tale of a Tub*. Sect. 3.

† ZOÏLUS, a grammarian of *Amphipolis*, called HOMEROMASTIX, or HOMER'S SCOURGE, because he writ against HOMER. When he applied to the Court of PTOLEMY PHILADELPHUS for an Encouragement amongst the Men of Learning, his Petition was rejected. When he dispersed his Observations on HOMER, he was never answered by the Men of Learning, but in general with those opprobrious Names of *Thracian Slave* and *rhbetorical Dog*. His Remarks are perished as Things that Men were ashamed to preserve, the just Desert of whatever arises from the miserable Principles of Ill-will or Envy. Vid. POPE's *Essay on Homer*, Sect. 2.

§ TIGELLIUS a Fidler and a Songster, much regarded by JULIUS CÆSAR, CLEOPATRA and AUGUSTUS, for his Taste and Skill in Musick, but in all other Respects universally despised. He was the most impudent abandoned Profligate of his Time. He decried the Reputation of HORACE, and could not bear with his Writings because they were deficient in Grace and Harmony.

Essay on the Life and
 PERRAULT § and DENNIS ||, who begat ETCÆ-
 TERA the younger.

HAVING

§ PERRAULT, a *French* Critick in the Days of
 LOUIS the fourteenth. He writ a Parallel between
 the ANTIENS and the MODERNS, wherein he
 gives the Preference to the latter. He was the
 Contempt of BOILEAU for his Ignorance and
 Blunders, as you may observe in the following
 Epigram :

A Monsieur PERRAULT, sur les livres qu'il a
 faits contre les anciens.

D' où vient que CICERON, PLATON, VIRGILE, HOMERE,
 Et tous ces grands auteurs que l'univers révère,
 Traduits dans vos écrits nous paroissent si sots ?
 PERRAULT, c' est qu' en prestant à ces esprits sublimes
 Vos façons de parler, vos bassesses, vos rimes,
 Vous les faites tous des PERRAULTS.

And we are told by Dr. SWIFT in his *Battle of
 the Books*, that HOMER took PERRAULT by
 mighty Force out of his Saddle, then hurl'd him
 at FONTENELLE, with the same Blow dashing
 out both their Brains.

|| DENNIS, an Officer of the *Custom-house*. He
 writ, as we are told, a Book of *Remarks* against
 Mr. ADDISON's *Tragedy of Cato*, another against
 PORE's HOMER, and many other forgotten Pieces
 of the like Sort. We are also told in that jocular
 Narrative concerning the *strange and deplorable*
 Frenzy of Mr. JOHN DENNIS, that on the 27th
 of *March*, 1712, Mr. DENNIS finding on Mr.
 LINTOT's Counter a Book called an *Essay on*
Criticism, just then published, he read a Page or
 two

HAVING considered this uncommon Munificence of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE to Dr. SWIFT in all its several Appearances, and as far as lay in my Power done equal Justice to the Memory of both, I shall now proceed to acquaint you in what Respects the Doctor was highly obliged to that great and learned Minister.

THE Obligations conferred by Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE upon his young Friend, were infinitely superior to any pecuniary Presents; which however in the Opinion of those who are untinctured with Generosity, are the only Sorts of Kindness that deserve a Return of Gratitude. The greatest Obligation that SWIFT had to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and which in Fact was the Source of all the rest, was the Honour of his being thought not unworthy to be the domestick Friend and Companion of so wise, so learned, and so accomplished a Statesman. Sir WILLIAM quickly observed that SWIFT'S
Genius

two with much Frowning, until coming to these two Lines;

*Some have at first for Wits, then Poets past,
Turn'd Criticks next, and prov'd plain Fools at last.*

He flung down the Book in a terrible Fury, and cried out, *By G—— he means me*; which is allowed to have been the best Remark he ever made in his Life.

Genius was strong and piercing, and that his Talents were vastly improved by great Variety of Literature, which was the Cause of raising him in a short Time into Sir WILLIAM'S Confidence. The Politicks of our young, aspiring Genius were enlarged Day after Day by the Wisdom and Conversation of this old experienced Counsellor, who was thoroughly versed in all the Windings and Turnings of Party during the Reigns of King CHARLES and JAMES the second *. And really so great was the Master, that even the Scholar was thought fit to be trusted with Matters of the last Importance † at the Age of twenty-three. It was at *Moore-Park* that SWIFT corrected the *Tale of a Tub*, and writ his famous *Digressions*, every Section of which, one after another, he submitted to the Judgment and Correction of his learned Friend. And Sir WILLIAM in Return to the Compliment, recommended to SWIFT the Care and Revival of all his Writings. In short that Greatness

* Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE retired of his own Accord from all publick Employments in the Year 1680, but we cannot from thence infer that so wise a Man, who had laboured for twenty Years in the Service of the Crown, must for that Reason have been wholly careless during the Remainder of his Life to enquire into the Affairs of his Country.

† Vid. Appendix, Sect. 24.

See pp. 33, 34
6, 104

Greatness of Mind in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, which refused to accept of a Peerage from his Friend King WILLIAM, vouchsafed to rejoice in a Compliment from his own Pupil. The GENERAL OF THE ALLIES TO THE ANTIENTS in the *Battle of the Books*, will for ever be a Title of Honor that will command Respect from the great, the learned, and the wise throughout all Generations.

PERHAPS it may be somewhat amusing, before we proceed any further, to take a short, impartial and cursory View of that Friendship which subsisted between Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE and Dr. SWIFT for about eleven Years, the Accounts whereof in the 23d and 25th Sections of the *Appendix* are short, rapid, and obscure. Nevertheless, there is comprised in those Sections all that Dr. SWIFT intended should ever have been known to Posterity with Regard to these Matters. However it happens there are a few particular Anecdotes of undoubted Authority, which help us in a great Measure to clear up some very material Passages in that early Period of the Doctor's Life; and which the present Situation of his Fame obligeth us to animadvert upon in a critical Manner. But to avoid a Multiplicity of Words, Dr. SWIFT having waited upon Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE in the Year 1688, continued with him in his House for

F

about

about two Years. What Terms of Friendship they were upon during this Period, is, for want of Authority, only to be conjectured from that Similarity of Taste which seems to have animated the Spirits of both these great Men in the Pursuit of Knowledge. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was an excellent Scholar, a Man of Wit and Poetry, wise, philosophical, experienced, and still in the Vigor of his Genius, being at the Time of the *Revolution* just fifty-eight. But in the latter Part of his Life he was tortured with the Gout, the Gravel, and the Stone, even to the highest Degree that human Nature is perhaps able to endure; and therefore was inclined rather to indulge himself in the Pleasures of Ease and Tranquillity whensoever he had a Moment's Respite from these agonizing Torments, than apply his Faculties to the Revision and Correction of his own Writings. We find however, that like all other Men of Genius, he was far from being regardless of his Fame. He certainly was desirous to have his Works appear in their proper Degree of Lustre; but his frequent Infirmities obliged him to have Recourse to an Assistant. And where could he have found in the whole Nation any young Man so thoroughly capable in all Respects to revise them under his own Direction, as that very Person who was honoured with his Friendship, and Resident in his

his House at that very Time? However indeed we cannot exactly tell how early it was that Dr. SWIFT was employed in the Revival of the Works of that great Man. But

this we are sure of, that upon his Return from Ireland, where he had gone for the Recovery of his Health, he grew up immediately into such Confidence with Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, that he was often trusted with Matters of great Importance *.

Moreover it appears upon the Face of some Anecdotes, that after he had taken his Master's Degree at Oxford, which he did about

Dec 1691

a Year after his Return from Ireland, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had no Mind that he should engage himself in the Business of the Church until the King should please to provide for him, [Vid. particularly what he saith in his Letter to his Uncle WILLIAM SWIFT].

July 1692

Aug 1691

But here I am afraid Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE rather acted the Part of a refined Politician than that of a warm and sincere Friend, which however did by no Means impose upon the Doctor's Understanding. For the Doctor saw plainly, that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was under some Apprehensions that if he were once provided for in the Church he would leave his House, a Point that Sir WILLIAM beyond all other could not bear to think of, because (to use almost the Doctor's own Words) Sir WIL-

Nov. 29/1692

MAY 1717

F 2

LIAM

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 23, 24.

Nov. 27, 1642
 LIAM *thought* SWIFT *a little necessary* to him, that is in plain Terms, SWIFT was necessary to him, because he was engaged at that very Time in the Revival of his Works, which is neither more nor less than what the Doctor hints at in his Letter to my Lord PALMERSTON in these Words, "perhaps you will allow that I was of some Use to him." And accordingly we find, that in the Year 1694 the Doctor having remarked that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *was not so forward as he could wish* in procuring him some Benefice in the Church, he became so thoroughly disobliged, that he resolved upon going immediately into Orders, and quitting the House of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, although it should even cause a Rupture between him and that great Person. But let us hear what the Doctor saith in his Letter to his Cousin DEANE SWIFT, dated from *Leicester June 3, 1694*, wherein he speaks of this Matter without any Sort of Disguise in the following Words: "I forgot to tell you I left Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE a Month ago, just as I foretold it to you [how long he had foretold it before the Date of this Letter doth not appear] and every Thing happened thereupon exactly as I guessed; he was extream angry I left him, and yet would not oblige himself any further than upon my good Behaviour, [*these Words of Sir WILLIAM* TEMPLE

“ TEMPLE are manifestly the Words of Anger]
 “ nor would promise any Thing firmly to
 “ me at all ; [Sir WILLIAM, you see, was
 “ thoroughly displeased] so that every Body
 “ judged I did best to leave him ;” [the
 Doctor you may observe keeps firm to his Reso-
 lution, although in Danger to break with his
 dearest Friend] “ I design to be ordained
 “ September next, and make what Endea-
 “ vours I can for something in the Church ;
 “ I wish it may ever lie in my Cousin’s
 “ [WILLOUGHBY SWIFT’s] Way or your’s
 “ to have Interest to bring me in Chaplain
 “ of the Factory.” I think we may con-
 clude from these last Words, that when he
 writ this Letter he had little or no Depend-
 ance on the Friendship of Sir WILLIAM
 TEMPLE for getting him any Preferment
 of Consequence in the Church, which I am
 persuaded that he covertly testifies in the
 Beginning of the above-mentioned Letter,
 where he saith, *That Friendship as the World*
passes is one of the idlest Things in it. How-
 ever, such was the Fortune of Dr. SWIFT,
 that in the Year 1694 he was coldly re-
 commended (I will suppose by Sir WILLI-
 AM TEMPLE) to the Lord CAPEL, then
 Lord Deputy of Ireland, who gave him a
 trifling Prebend in the northern Province of
 that Kingdom, worth about an Hundred
 Pounds a Year ; of which growing weary
 in a few Months, he returned to England,

resigned his Living in favour of a Friend, and continued in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S House until the Death of that great Man *. What shall we say to these Obscurities? or how can they be cleared up and reconciled with that Greatness of Mind which is the Ornament and the Glory of the Doctor's Character? Will it not be thought poor and mean-spirited, that because Dr. SWIFT had gotten such a trifling Benefice in a remote Part of *Ireland* he should resign his Living in a few Months, and go back to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, even to that very Man with whom not long before he had quarrelled almost to a Degree that had put an End to their Friendship? Let us stop for a Minute, and consider whether Appearances be not strongly against him. But these Obscurities are all cleared up by a particular Anecdote, which I have lately found in a Letter from the Doctor's Sister to her Cousin DEANE SWIFT, dated *May 26, 1699*, which proves to a Demonstration that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who had been used to the Conversation of Dr. SWIFT for so many Years, could not in the Decline of his Days live contented without him; and therefore persuaded him to resign his Living. I shall give you the Quotation from that Letter exactly in her own Words; "My
 " poor Brother has lost his best Friend Sir
 " WILLIAM

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 25.

“ WILLIAM TEMPLE, who was so fond
 “ of him whilst he lived, that he made him
 “ give up his Living in this Country [Ire-
 “ land] to stay with him at *Moore-Park*,
 “ and promised to get him one in *England*;
 “ but Death came in between, and has left
 “ him unprovided both of Friend and
 “ Living.”

HOWEVER this Resignation of his Prebend
 for the Sake of returning to his old Friend,
 was beyond every Thing else so obliging in
 Dr. SWIFT, that during the Remainder of
 Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S Life, which I
 think was about four Years, the Doctor
 lived with him in the greatest Harmony and
 Friendship imaginable. And after this perfect
Reconciliation between them, the Doctor
writ that famous *Battle of the Books*, which
is wholly dedicated to the Honour of his
great and learned Friend.

C H A P. V.

THE Works and Characters of the
 greatest Men have certainly been
 Time out of Mind the Property, the Quar-
 ry, and the Regaglio of *Criticks*; a Sort of
 Gentry whose Writings I thank my Stars I
 am but little acquainted with. However
 indeed their Talents, their Learning, and
 the Account of their Institution are so finely
 displayed

displayed by the Author of the *Tale of a Tub*, that nothing can be added to compleat their Character. This Race of Animals proceed in the Course of their Observations upon the noblest Writers (*to which they are carried meerly by Instinct, as a Rat to the best Cheese, or a Wasp to the fairest Fruit* *) by several Rules of Art, which from Age to Age they have been raking up from one another. Had they confined their Qualifications, like FARNABY and MINELLIUS, within proper Bounds, and contented themselves with nibbling at the Faults, the Superfluities, and the Excrescencies of Books †; they might in all Probability have escaped with Impunity from the learned, and perhaps have been sometimes recommended, I mean some of the best of them, to the Perusal of young raw Lads before they are sent to the University. But when they venture beyond their Line, and presume to attack the private Character of an Author, they bring themselves deservedly under the Lash of their Betters; and accordingly from Time to Time they have been scourged very severely, although never corrected; the Callosity of their Brains rendering them quite insensible to every Kind of Discipline. But let all

* Vid. *Tale of a Tub*, Sect. 3.

† These are according to SWIFT the proper Employments of a Critick. Vid. Dig. to the *Tale of a Tub*.

all such inferior Scriblers safe rest in Obscurity; their Writings are cold and languid, and therefore not worthy of our Attention. I am sure the Author of the *Remarks on Dr. SWIFT*, whose Genius frequently rises, or at least endeavours to rise, into the *marvellous* and the *sublime*, would scorn to acknowledge an Acquaintance with such an ignorant Tribe. However indeed, as those *impedimenta Literarum* originally collected the best of their Materials from the wise and learned, I cannot but lament that so improved, so elegant a Philologer as the great Rival of QUINCTILIAN, should encourage any little Fellows of that Sort to erect their future Systems of critical Observations, not only upon the Ruin of an Author's private Character, which properly speaking is wholly beyond the Business of their nonsensical Trade; but likewise on the Disparagement of his whole Acquaintance, both Men and Women, and above all teach them in particular to adorn the Apparatus of their Designs, with some noble rhetorical Debasement of an Author's whole Family, without any Regard to Candor, Humanity, or Decency, provided that nothing less can sink the Reputation of his Abilities in the Opinion of his Friends, his Admirers, and his Countrymen. It must be granted nevertheless, that the Bulk of Readers, like the Bulk of Criticks, are most excessively dull;

dull; they seldom or ever explore the mystical Sense of an Author, but catch their Observations just as they happen to float on the Superficies of his Writings. And therefore I have been sometimes afraid, lest the Generality of the World should content themselves with the literal Signification of the *Remarks* (an Error which I am ashamed to confess that I had once imbibed as well as the rest of the Unlearned) without making any Sort of Allowance for that superlative Talent and Skill in Raillery, which are the known Characteristicks of this amazing Author; and which, like another CERVANTES, he hath kept up with uncommon Force of Art from the Beginning unto the End of his admired Panegyrick. Our great Philologer knew perfectly well that SWIFT'S Reputation for Wit, and Humour, and Politics, and every noble Accomplishment that can adorn the human Soul, was so universally established, that no Sort of Colouring whatsoever could defile his Character, neither could any Species of Attitudes make him appear Ridiculous; and therefore it was that he hath exhibited that great and glorious PATRIOT in the most whimsical and burlesque Portraits imaginable: When you behold the Doctor in his own *Writings*, there indeed you find him in a thousand different Attitudes, agreeable to the diversity of his Character; but when you behold him

him in the *Remarks*, you see him as it were through a Glass darkly, just as if you were gazing at PHOEBUS in an Eclipse, in all the Variety of *Caricatura*. In short the ÆNEAS of VIRGIL and the ÆNEAS of CHARLES COTTON, bear exactly the same Resemblance to each other as the Doctor in his own Writings, and the Doctor in these whimsical *Remarks*; yet still the Character is equally and finely supported both in *Heroicks* and *Burlesque*. But to convince that unthinking Part of the World, which are still of Opinion that our Philologer is perfectly serious in all his *Remarks*, I will appeal unto their own Judgment, and desire they will please to consider, whether or no it be consistent with Generosity, Candor, Friendship, or Humanity, to let drive such unmerciful Aspersions (if indeed the *Remarks* are to be understood according to the natural Import and Signification of the Words) not only against the Doctor himself, whose Friend this great Philologer is upon all Occasions very ambitious to be thought, but against the whole Family of DR. SWIFT, without any the least Demerit on their Part to excite his Revenge? Doubtless every Man living, who hath any Regard to Morals, will answer in the Negative. And if that be the Case, it follows by a necessary Consequence, that unless the Good-natured Part of the World should on the present Occasion

on

on be so excessively severe as to strip this *benè præparatum Pectus* of all Generosity, Candor, Friendship and Humanity, they cannot but accord with me, that in Fact the whole Body of the *Remarks* is only a Burlesque upon SWIFT's Character, representing his Life and Writings in a thousand Caricaturas. Moreover it is impossible not to acquiesce and be confirmed in this Opinion, if with any Sort of Candor and Generosity we do but carefully animadvert on one particular Series of Rhetorick, which rises perpetually from one *Climax* to another for about twenty Pages in the *Apparatus* of this wonderful Performance; a Strain of Panegyrick, although designedly veiled under a Cloud of seeming Vituperation and Abuse, so very peculiar to that Manner of Applause for which I do suppose this great Philologer will for ever be renowned, that I think for the Time to come it should by Way of Eminence be stiled *

* * * * *
 * * * * * *Hiatus*
 * * * * *

Sic vos non vobis, &c.

BUT since we have now gotten a Moment's Leisure to consider of these Matters, we shall embrace the Opportunity, and examine these rhetorical Flourishes one after another in their proper Series, not according to their burlesque and true Signification, but according to the natural Import of the

Words

Words and Phrases; and particularly we shall endeavour to rise from *Climax* to *Climax* until we arrive at the *ne plus ultra* of this Critick's Sublimity.

IN the first Letter of these glorious *Remarks*, immediately after he hath experienced the Force of his Abilities in the Character of DR. SWIFT, whom he acknowledgeth *per* Force to have been the Patron of *Ireland*, he proceeds in the following Manner: "Here it may not be improper to observe to you, that many of his Friends imagined him a Native of *England*." [Whether it would have been more to the Honour of Dr. SWIFT to have been born in *England*, descended from a Family which could vary and turn with every Wind of Politicks, and thereby not only continue in the Possession of their Estates without Molestation, but increase their Fortunes by the Iniquity of the Times; or to have been born in *Ireland*, descended from a Race of *English* that scorned to renounce their Principles by abjuring their KING and truckling to the USURPER; and upon that Account obliged to relinquish their native Country; I appeal unto the Judgment of every discreet, impartial, true *Englishman*, that has any Regard for his Honour, his Liberty, his Constitution, or his Prince.] And then he begins to refine upon all that he had said before concerning DR. SWIFT, with a Delicacy

cy peculiar to himself in the very next Words, "and many others, I know not whether to call them Friends or Enemies, [*Mark that*] "were willing to suppose him the natural Son of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE; [*that is, in plain English, were willing to suppose him the Son of a Whore.*] Now this you are to remember is only a little Preparative for what you are to expect in the ensuing Pages. But not to keep you in suspense any longer, presently after this rhetorical Flash of Politeness, as if nothing had been said before to the Aspersions of the Doctor, he gathers up himself, and proceeds in the following Manner: "The Rules of Biography make it necessary to give some Account of his Family. "It shall be as short as possible," [*Now observe the Reason why the Account should be as short as possible*] "since although his Ancestors were Persons of very decent and reputable Characters," [*Yes truly, and if I mistake not, the same at least might have been asserted in Favour of the Ancestors of DR. SWIFT long before the Year 1588, which, by some Accident or other, I know not whether to call it a fortunate or an unfortunate Accident, happens to have been a very remarkable Epoch in the Vicissitudes of this World, a very remarkable Epoch I assure you.*] "he himself "hath been the Herald to blazon the Dignity of their Coat." But what indeed this

this Critick would insinuate by *decent, reputable Characters*, which to Cobblers and Tinkers* might occasionally have been applied with equal Decorum, I leave the World to judge; and for the latter Part of this rhetorical Flourish, how terse and florid soever it may appear in the Eyes of the Critick, and those of a like delicate Gusto for the *Belles Lettres*, I can by no Means think it worthy of an Answer, having already produced in the first Chapter of this Treatise sufficient Authorities to prove, that let the Fortunes of the Doctor's Father and Brothers have been never so desperate when they came over to *Ireland*, they wanted not the Merits of their Posterity to blazon the Dignity of their Coat.

THE next Figure of this exalted *Climax* appears to be nothing more than a random hap-hazard Conjecture; or at best only the two former Assertions blended together. Nevertheless, if you read the whole Paragraph, you will observe the Conclusion is rounded off with an *Eclat* so very brisk and resounding

* We find that JOHN the Butler, in that Poem called *PHYLLIS or the Progress of Love*, written by DR. SWIFT, is allowed to have been descended from Ancestors of *decent and reputable Characters*.

Thank God, 'twas neither Shame nor Sin.
For JOHN was come of honest Kin.

resounding, that if you are not somewhat aware of his peculiar Turn of Rhetorick, you will be apt to mistake it for something marvellously sublime. His Words are these, "I am not quite certain that SWIFT himself did not acquiesce in the Calumny," [viz. that he was the Bastard of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE] "perhaps, like ALEXANDER, he thought the natural Son of JUPITER would appear greater than the legitimate Son of PHILIP." Is it possible do you think to conceive that any human Creature, who is ambitious to have a Place among the Friends of DR. SWIFT, and desires to be ranked among the Candid and Benevolent, should express the Sentiments of his Heart (supposing that his *Remarks* are not to be understood as a Burlesque upon SWIFT's Life and Character) in so strange a Manner? It is impossible to conceive an Idea so absurd and contradictory. The Critick *is not quite certain that SWIFT himself did not acquiesce in the Calumny*; neither am I *quite certain*, nor is any Man else *quite certain*, that SWIFT himself was ever apprized of that Calumny, much less that he ever acquiesced in it. The latter Part of the Quotation, where JUPITER is made an *English Baronet**, is only a bright and shining

* If any one be desirous to form an accurate Judgment upon the Excellency of those Letters, which

ning Example of that elevated Style wherein beyond all Comparison, this Critick and Philologer hath excelled all Writers of all Ages, whether *antient or modern*, as might easily be made to appear from some Hundreds of Passages in this extraordinary Performance. But according to an old Proverb, quoted by LONGINUS upon a familiar Occasion, *ὐδὲν ξηρότερον ἰδεωμεναι*, *Nothing is more dry than a dropical Person.*

HOWEVER to set this Matter in its proper Light, I would only ask one single Question. Can it be supposed with any Colour of Reason, that a Man of the Doctor's Spirit and

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Resolu-

which are entitled *Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT*, the *third* and *fourth Sections of LONGINUS de Sublimitate*, and those only are recommended to his Perusal, as indeed the Remainder of that sublime Treatise would be of no Use to him upon this Occasion. However it happens, I know not by what Caprice of that incomparable Judge both of *Books* and *Men*, that poor LEONTINUS GORGIAS is laughed at very undeservedly in the former of those Sections, for calling XERXES the JUPITER of the *Persians*; “*καὶ τὰ τῷ Λεοντίνῳ Γοργίῳ γινώσκεται γράφοιτο.*” “*Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεὺς.*” And yet XERXES, every Body knows, was a great and mighty Prince, and consequently in some Sort JUPITER's Representative. But now I think of it, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was a much greater Man than XERXES, for he was not only King CHARLES's Representative, but his Plenipotentiary into the Bargain at the Congress of *Nimeguen*.

Resolution was ever insulted with an Asper-
 sion so infamously degrading, after he was
 One and Twenty and wore a Sword? I fan-
 cy not. If indeed he could have borne such
 an Affront with Patience, I should more
 than suspect him to have been a Bastard,
 but not the Bastard of Sir WILLIAM TEM-
 PLE, because that was impossible, as the
 Doctor was born upon the 30th of *Novem-*
ber, 1667, and Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE
 was Resident abroad in the Character of a
 Minister of State, from the Year 1665 to
 the Year 1670*, neither was the Doctor's
 Mother ever once in her whole Life out of
 the *English* Dominions. But although it
 may be said the Doctor was never reproach-
 ed with this infamous Slander, as there is
 no Record in the Annals of his Life that
 he ever cut any Man's Throat for an Insult
 of that Kind; is it therefore impossible that
 he should have been acquainted with such
 a malicious Report by the indirect Means
 of his Enemies? None can assert it to be a
 Thing impossible. Reproaches may be con-
 veyed a thousand Ways beside that coarse
 Method of packetting, as they call it, by
 the Post. But in that Case would any Man
 of common Sense run about clearing the Re-
 putation of his innocent and virtuous Mo-
 ther?

* Vid. Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE's Letters to
 the Earl of ARLINGTON and the rest of the *Mi-*
nistry.

ther? Would it not have been more discreet to have let the Calumny waste itself in Air, if he could not fix upon the Author of it; especially as the Story itself upon the slightest Examination, carried the most evident Marks of Absurdity and Contradiction? What Time in the Doctor's Life this infamous Calumny was raised and propagated to his Dishonour, I protest I cannot positively say; neither am I *quite certain* that it ever reached his Ears. But surely there is a wide Difference between despising a Calumny and acquiescing in it.

THE next Figure is only a rhetorical Parade upon the Subject of Humility. The whole is founded upon the old discarded Principles of the *Levellers*; a Sort of People who had no Regard among other Republican Tenets, to any Distinction of Blood. If this Writer be of their Opinion, I allow that his Conclusions are justly drawn from their exploded Premises. But if any Respect should be had to the Antiquity of Families, and to the Purity of Blood, his whole Reasoning is not worth the Shell of an Acorn. Waving therefore all Inquiries of that Sort, I appeal unto every Gentleman who is supposed to be descended from any Family at all, whether it be a Demonstration of Pride and Ambition, or whether it be a Species of Vanity that is Blame-worthy, to keep clear from base and mean Alliances.

I am sure the admirable PLUTARCH, whose biographical Writings will continue to be read with Pleasure until the Day of Judgment, would have thought it scandalous to match into the baser Families; otherwise he could not have blamed CATO the *Censor* for marrying the Daughter of SALONIUS, an obscure Servant, and bringing her into his House, to the great Displeasure and Regret of so eminent a Man as MARCUS PORCIUS. However indeed, since CATO was resolved to play the Fool in his old Age, it was more reputable for this renowned Censor, to make an obscure Person the Mistress of his House under the Character of a Wife, although she had been detected by his Son PORCIUS to have been the Concubine of his honoured Father some Time before, than to have given her the Liberty to huff, and swagger, and rule his Family in the Character of a Strumpet.

BUT surely STELLA, the lovely STELLA, exactly answered the Description of PENELOPE;

A Woman loveliest of the lovely Kind,
In Body perfect, and compleat in Mind.

IT is all true.. With Regard to her Manners, her Virtues, her Mind, and her Person, she was not undeserving (although she was totally unacquainted with Musick, which the

the Critick however; in the Multitude of his Generosity hath made her a Present of) to have been married to the greatest Prince in *Europe*; but her Descent was from a Servant of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and therefore she was by no Means worthy to have been the acknowledged Wife of DR. SWIFT.

IN treating of these Matters perhaps it will not be unnecessary to remark, before we proceed any further, the high Opinion which DR. SWIFT had conceived of this improved and lovely Woman. He assures us, " that STELLA had the most and finest Accomplishments of any Person he had ever known of either Sex; and further declares, it was observed by all her Acquaintance that she never failed in Company to say the best Thing that was said whoever was by; although her Companions were usually Persons of the best Understanding in the Kingdom*." The Character of STELLA you may learn from DR. SWIFT's Poem to her on her *Birth-Day*, March 13, 1726-7, and especially from the subsequent Poem addressed to STELLA, upon her visiting DR. SWIFT in his Sickness; a Poem which contains such a Variety of noble and exalted Sentiments, that every young Person of either Sex ought to be enjoined to get it by Heart. Her Failings you may read in those Verses which are

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inscribed

* Vid. *Bons Mots de STELLA*, Vol. 8.

inscribed to STELLA by DR. SWIFT upon her collecting and transcribing his Poems, The Delicacy of her Taste we may conjecture from the following Copy of Verses, the only remaining Performance of hers that I know of in the poetick Strain, which was given by DR. SWIFT to a Lady of his Acquaintance; who had a great Esteem for the Virtues and Accomplishments of STELLA, although she never had the least Intimacy with her, and which the Doctor assured this Lady was a Piece intirely genuine from the Hands of STELLA, without any Sort of Correction whatsoever.

*Mrs. Martha
Whiteway.*

*To DR. SWIFT on his Birth-Day, No-
vember 30, 1721.*

ST. PATRICK'S Dean, your Country's Pride,
My early and my only Guide,
Let me among the rest attend,
Your Pupil and your humble Friend,
To celebrate in Female Strains
The Day that paid your Mother's Pains;
Descend to take that Tribute due
In Gratitude alone to you.

When Men began to call me fair,
You interpos'd your timely Care;
You early taught me to despise
The ogling of a Coxcomb's Eyes;

Shew'd

Shew'd where my Judgment was misplac'd;
Refin'd my Faney and my Taste.

Behold that Beauty just decay'd,
Invoking Art to Nature's aid;
Forsook by her admiring Train
She spreads her tatter'd Nets in vain;
Short was her Part upon the Stage;
Went smoothly on for Half a Page;
Her Bloom was gone, she wanted Art,
As the Scene chang'd, to change her Part:
She, whom no Lover could resist,
Before the second Act was hiss'd.
Such is the Fate of Female Race
With no Endowments but a Face;
Before the Thirti'th Year of Life
A Maid forlorn, or hated Wife.

STELLA to you, her Tutor, owes
That she has ne'er resembled those;
Nor was a Burthen to Mankind
With Half her Course of Years behind.
You taught how I might Youth prolong
By knowing what was Right and Wrong;
How from my Heart to bring Supplies
Of Lustre to my fading Eyes;
How soon a beauteous Mind repairs
The Loss of chang'd or falling Hairs;
How Wit and Virtue from within
Send out a Smoothness o'er the Skin:
Your Lectures cou'd my Fancy fix,
And I can please at Thirty-fix.
The Sight of CHLOE at Fifteen
Coquetting, gives not me the Spleen;

The Idol now of every Fool
 'Till Time shall make their Passions cool;
 Then tumbling down Time's steepy Hill,
 While STELLA holds her Station still.
 Oh! turn your Precepts into Laws,
 Redeem the Women's ruin'd Cause,
 Retrieve lost Empire to our Sex,
 That Men may bow their Rebel Necks.

Long be the Day that gave you Birth
 Sacred to Friendship, Wit, and Mirth;
 Late dying may you cast a Shred
 Of your rich Mantle o'er my Head;
 To bear with Dignity my Sorrow,
 One Day *alone, then die To-morrow.*

It is not without some Regret that I am forced by the present Occasion to speak out my Sentiments freely, not with Regard to the lovely and accomplished STELLA, but with Regard to MRS. JOHNSON. If DR. SWIFT had acknowledged his Marriage even with this improved, this adorable Creature, he would in Spight of his Genius, and all the Reputation he had acquired in the Days of King WILLIAM and Queen ANNE have immediately sunk in the Esteem of the World. For among the rest of his Enemies, (and we all know that in both Kingdoms he had a great Number) there were, to my Knowledge, some few that were not unacquainted with the Story of MRS. JOHNSON'S Birth and Education, who on Account

*Mrs Toulton
(Jane Swift?)*

count of some particular Disobligations they had received from the Doctor, would have been glad of an Opportunity of exposing him to Contempt and Ridicule for the Meanness of his Spirit; and as in that Case they would have had it full in their Power, as well as strong in their Inclination, they would have published and confirmed the Obscurity of MRS. JOHNSON'S Birth and Education among all their Acquaintance.

They would have declared among other Particulars, that MRS. JOHNSON when she was about ten or eleven Years old, was appointed to wait upon the Doctor's Sister in the Character of her little Servant, during the Summer that she spent at Mobre-Park in the Year 1692.

Neither can we suppose that even the Doctor's Sister, with whom he had quarrell'd to such a Degree as never to see her Face, on Account of a Match he thought greatly beneath her Acceptance, would have stifled her Indignation; or with any Patience have forbore to retaliate the Severities of her Brother upon his own Back, when he himself had married and acknowledged a Wife so very meanly extracted, and particularly that individual Person whom she despised and hated beyond all the Inhabitants on Earth. In one Word,

if DR. SWIFT, whose Ambition was not to be gratified without some uncommon Degree of Admiration, had acknowledged
MRS.

see p 25

Stella (H)
and
Jane Swift
in "Summer
of 1692".

Jane Swift
hated and
despised
Stella.

MRS. JOHNSON for a Wife, he would on all Sides have been so persecuted with Contempt and Derision (as Half Mankind were in the Year 1716 his professed Enemies) that unable to support himself under the Burthen of his Affliction, he would have lost his Spirits, broken his Heart, and died in a Twelvemonth. And accordingly we find he had more Wisdom than to acknowledge this beautiful, this accomplished Woman for his Wife.

HOWEVER this Matter requires some further Consideration. In the Year 1699, when Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE died, and left MRS. JOHNSON a Thousand Pounds (as an Acknowledgment of her Father's just and faithful Services; > this promising fine Girl was in the Bloom of her Age, < being at that Time, according to the best Computation, exactly Eighteen, and the Doctor, who had left Moore-Park and gone up to London, upon the Death of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, was in his Thirty-third Year. > The Beauty and Gracefulness of MRS. JOHNSON's Person had been remarked by the Doctor about two Years before this Period, but never we may be sure had he made her the least Advances. I am inclined however to an Opinion, that DR. SWIFT having observed her to be a delightful Girl, and of a Genius quick and lively, had given her some Instructions for the Improvement of her Mind in those happy

NB

13 March
(1698/9)?
33-30 Nov 1700I.e. March,
1696/7
(Steuart's 16)

py Years of Ductility, when the Soul is apt to receive all the finest Impressions; which like Seed thrown upon a rich and fertile Soil, might have prejudiced her Inclinations to have a Tenderness for SWIFT, But not to insist upon the Wildness of a Conjecture, thus much is certain, that about two Years after the Death of Sir WILLIAM, MRS. JOHNSON, accompanied by a Lady fifteen Years elder than herself, a Relation of the TEMPLE Family, whose whole Fortune, as I have been told, was an Annuity of twenty-seven Pounds a Year, went over to Ireland upon the Invitation of DR. SWIFT. The Pretext assigned for their going over to that Kingdom was the Dearness of Money, which in *Ireland* was at Ten per Cent. and the excessive Cheapness of Provisions in those Times; but in Reality MRS. JOHNSON's Intent was to captivate the Heart of DR. SWIFT. This Design, how privately soever it might have been laid between MRS. JOHNSON and her Friend, transpired in the Neighbourhood of *Moore-Park*, where it is not unlikely they might have been less upon their Guard. For in a Letter dated from *Puttenham* in *Surry*, *February 5, 1706*, which now lies before me, there is an Inquiry made after the Doctor by the Reverend MR. THOMAS SWIFT, who desires to know, "whether JONATHAN be married? or whether he has been able to resist the Charms
" of

C. Jan 1700/1
(See p. 98)

Lost Letter
of Feb. 5, 1706
from Thomas
Swift.

“ of both those Gentlewomen that march-
“ ed quite from *Moore-Park* to *Dublin* (as
“ they would have marched to the *North*
“ or any where else) with full Resolution
“ to engage him?” But let this Matter
have been as it would, the Doctor made no
Addresses to this charming Fair upon her
first Arrival in *Ireland*, when she was in the
Prime of her Life, and Splendor of her
Beauty. However the Gracefulness of her
Person, and the Politeness of her Conver-
sation, were not to be resisted by a Gentle-
man of Wit and Learning, who was an in-
timate Friend of the Doctor, and with
whom she had frequently conversed. This
Gentleman declared his Passion, and made
her Proposals of Marriage. Now whether
it was an Artifice in *Mrs. JOHNSON* to rouse
Affections in the adamantine Heart of her
admired Object; or whether it was a Reach
of Policy in *Dr. SWIFT* to acquaint *Mrs.*
JOHNSON by such indirect Means, that he
had no Intention of engaging himself in a
married Life; or whether in Truth there
was any Kind of Artifice used on either Side,
I protest I am an utter Stranger, and wholly
at a Loss; but sure it is, that *Mrs. JOHN-*
SON received the Addresses of this Gentle-
man, and gave him all proper Encourage-
ments that are usual upon those Occasions.
And it is equally true, that *Dr. SWIFT* had
so little Thought of Marriage at this Time,

or

or rather as I may say in this dangerous Con-
 juncture, that he went to the Court of *Eng-
 land* during the Intercourse of these Addres-
 ses, and writ constantly to this Gentleman,
 as to a Person so intimately acquainted with
 MRS. JOHNSON, that he frequently convey-
 ed to her the political News of *England*
 through his Hands. Some of these Letters
 I have just seen, and heard read, but could
 not, I suppose, had I pressed for such a Fa-
 vour, have obtained Copies of them; nei-
 ther indeed would it have been reasonable
 in me to have expected such a Gratification,
 as the original Letters are repositd in the
 Cabinet of that Person who has the only
 Right to be possessed of such private Anec-
 dotes. Nevertheless, I think I may venture
 to say without any Breach of Honor, that
 one of those Letters from DR. SWIFT,
 wherein he gives an Account of the Bustle,
 the Hurry, and the Tumult that was in *Lon-
 don*, while the Bill to prevent occasional Con-
 formity was debating in Parliament, is one
 of the most lively Pieces of Wit and Hu-
 mour that perhaps he ever writ in his whole
 Life. But not to ramble too far in the Midst
 of a Digression; this Matter was brought to
 a Crisis. MRS. JOHNSON discovered no Re-
 pugnancy to the Match, but still she would
 be advised by DR. SWIFT. The Doctor
 perhaps loth to be separated from so delight-
 ful a Companion, threw an Obstacle in the
 Way

*These
 Letters*

Way that was not to be surmounted. This Gentleman had a Benefice in the Church of a considerable Value, about an hundred Miles from *Dublin*, which required his Attendance. DR. SWIFT in Order to bring Matters to a final Issue, made him an Overture, that he should settle upon his Wife an Hundred Pounds a Year for Pin-Money. The Lover indeed, although extreamly captivated with the Charms of his Mistress, was by no Means delighted with this Proposal; he desired however that he might have a Night's Time to consider of it. And the next Morning, contrary to Expectation, he agreed to the Terms. SWIFT, never at a Loss for some uncommon Flight of Imagination, insisted further, that he should live in *Dublin*, and keep a Coach for his Wife. The Gentleman had more Honor than to promise what he could not perform; the Match accordingly was broken off; in a short Time after the Doctor's Friend married a Woman of Family; and there was an End of the Affair.

I NEVER could hear that MRS. JOHNSON, with all her Wit and Beauty, had any Proposal of Marriage after the Year 1704. DR. SWIFT was universally imagined to have been her *Præsidium*, her Friend, and her Admirer. Before the Doctor had gotten the Deanery of ST. PATRICK's, his Place of Residence was at *Loracor*, about
twenty

twenty Miles from *Dublin*, in the Neighbourhood of *Trim*. The general Rule, I think, between him and MRS. JOHNSON was this; when the Doctor was absent from Home she lived at his House; but when he was at Home she lodged either somewhere at *Trim*, or was Resident at the House of DR. RAYMOND, the Vicar of *Trim*, a Gentleman of great Hospitality, a Friend of DR. SWIFT, a Man of Learning and fine Address, with the Advantage of a tall handsome and graceful Person.

IN the Year 1705, MRS. JOHNSON returned to *England*, where she spent five or six Months, and then came back to *Ireland*, as to the Place of her Residence; but never crossed the Channel afterwards to the End of her Days, although DR. SWIFT in the Reign of Queen ANNE spent most of his Time at *London*.

THIS Course of Life, so very singular in a fine Woman, abstracted MRS. JOHNSON in a great Measure from the Converse of her own Sex; and to make her Evening Retirements still less comfortable, her *English* Friend, who was eternally buckled to her Girdle, was by all Accounts a very insipid Companion. She lived, I cannot absolutely say by her own Choice, wholly in the Circle of Books and Men: A Life so unnatural to the Sweetness and Delicacy of a tender Female Constitution, that I cannot suppose it

Mrs Dingley

it with all its glittering Advantages in the Way of Science, to have been near so eligible to the lovely MRS. JOHNSON, as that open free Converse with the World, which is totally unacquainted with every Colour and Species of involuntary Confinement. However that Greatness of Mind, which inspires, like the *Dæmon* of SOCRATES, Courage and Resolution into the Souls of the Innocent, comforted and supported the religious and virtuous MRS. JOHNSON, under all the Bitterness and Pressures of her Restraint.

BUT as soon as DR. SWIFT, upon the Demise of the Queen, had come to settle at his Deanery of ST. PATRICK'S, and MRS. JOHNSON had removed from the Country to the larger Scene of *Dublin*, her Politeness and her Wit so engaged the Attention of the Learned, that she became universally admired by all those among the Doctor's Acquaintance, who had any Pretensions to either.

IT may not be unnecessary to remark in this Place, that as DR. SWIFT kept two publick Days every Week for the Entertainment of his Friends in large Circles, the Elegance and Decorum that were used upon those Occasions, were known to have been directed under the Guidance of MRS. JOHNSON, while she herself appeared without any Character distinct from the rest of the Company. And accordingly, as she was known
to

to have been the Conductress of these Entertainments, she was frequently invited by those, who could esteem her Manners, her Delicacy, and her Wit, to Parties of Pleasure, where Dr. SWIFT was to be one of the Guests; but not so constantly, nor yet indeed by so great a Number of Families of the first Rank as if she had been really his Wife. Her Friendships however, and all Degrees of her Intimacy were still confined to the Men. She visited none of her own Sex: Neither was she visited by any; some two or three perhaps only excepted. She was I believe acquainted with some few more, as far as Politeness and Good-Breeding have their established Forms in the World; but still *her* Acquaintance with *them*, and *theirs* with *her*, was barely local.

IN this Manner the lovely Mrs. JOHNSON spent her whole Life, with her Friend Mrs. DINGLEY in all Parties, and at all Hours, perpetually by her Side, as well before, as after the Sanction of her Marriage. For that she was married to Dr. SWIFT in or about the Year 1716, I am thoroughly persuaded, although it is certain they continued to live in separate Houses, in the same Manner they had usually done before; only with this Difference, that while the Doctor's violent Fits of Giddiness, and the Effects of them lasted, which would sometimes be for three Weeks or a Month together,

ther, Mrs. JOHNSON, still accompanied by her Friend Mrs. DINGLEY, would lie at the Deanery; but as soon as the Doctor was thoroughly recovered, she constantly went back to her own Lodgings. If any one should ask why this Renunciation of Marriage Rites? I shall answer that Question by asking another. Why did not SWIFT marry this adorable Creature in or about the Year 1702? was he not exactly at that *Æra* thirty five, just rising into the Meridian of his Abilities; and Mrs. JOHNSON twenty one, in the full Splendor of the most attractive Beauty, surrounded with every Grace, and blessed with every Virtue, that could allure the Affections, and captivate the Soul of the most stubborn Philosopher? And without Dispute, if the Meanness of her Birth, like an *evil Genius*, had not stood in the Way to oppose her Felicity, not all the Dr. SWIFTS upon Earth could have resisted the Force of her Inchantments. <It may be asserted, however, with great Truth, that Dr. SWIFT never had any serious Thoughts of Marriage after he was one and twenty. Some Time indeed before, while he was a Stripling in the University of *Dublin*, he had a Passion for Miss WARREN, the Sister of his Chamber-fellow. > But whatever Attachments he had to that Lady, upon his going to live in *England*, where he applied himself close to Politicks and Learning at Sir

WILLIAM

See p 91.

See Henry

WILLIAM TEMPLE's, his Passions quickly subsided, and he forgot his Amour; neither do I believe, further than common Forms, that he ever paid his Court, throughout his whole Life, to any Woman besides, in the Character of a professed Lover.

BUT to return from his juvenile Amour to the Affair of his Marriage. What could have provoked Dr. SWIFT (whose Spirit, Wisdom, and Genius, had bravely withstood the whole Artillery of Mrs. JOHNSON's Wit and Beauty for such a Length of Time as fourteen Years) to think of Marriage in the Year 1716, when he himself was just stepping upon the Threshold of old Age, and his admired fair one some Years, I will not say how many, on the wrong Side of her Beauty? I will endeavour to give an Answer to that Question, according to the best Conjecture I can form upon such Matters. As the prime Intention of Mrs. JOHNSON's going over to *Ireland* was to captivate the Affections of Dr. SWIFT, in all Probability she secretly hoped, from Time to Time, to compleat her Conquest. But finding upon the Queen's Demise, when all the Doctor's Hopes to gratify his Ambition were totally at an End; that although her *Platonick* Lover had quitted the Noise and Tumult of a political World; and had retired, like a sober, honest Clergyman, within the Pre-

cincts of his Deanery ; he thought no more upon the Subject of Wedlock than he had done for the preceding fourteen Years ; her Spirits might have become dejected, by her frequent revolving in her Mind the Odness of her Situation. If we suppose this to have been the Case, it is not unreasonable to imagine that SWIFT, thoroughly and sincerely her Friend, and almost her Lover, was unable to endure the least Abatement in her Chearfulness and Vivacity ; and therefore to raise her Spirits, and to secure the Fame of her Innocence from all Possibility of Reproach, resolved to gratify her with the Consciousness of being his *legal* Wife. And this indeed, or somewhat very like it, how strange soever and chimærical it may sound in the Ears of the World, was certainly the Reason that he ever married her at all.

BUT to return from these many Digressions to the *Ne-plus-ultra* of our Critick's Sublimity.

THE last, the noblest, and the most surprising Figure of that exalted *Climax* before mentioned is in Appearance neither more nor less than a sheer Recommendation of Incest. But let the Words answer for themselves, because it is not impossible that I may chance to be mistaken. " A Conduct (saith the Author of the Remarks) " so extraordinary in itself [*meaning that after Marriage* Dr. SWIFT and Mrs. JOHNSON *continued*

tinued to live, as they had done before, in separate Houses] “ always gives Room for
 “ various Comments and Reflections ; but
 “ however unaccountable this Renuncia-
 “ tion of Marriage Rites might appear to
 “ the World, it certainly arose not from
 “ any Consciousness of too near a Consan-
 “ guinity between him and Mrs. JOHNSON,
 “ although the general Voice of Fame was
 “ willing to make them both the natural
 “ Children of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE. I
 “ am persuaded that Dr. SWIFT was not of
 “ that Opinion ; [*of what Opinion? why
 that too near a Consanguinity subsisted between
 him and Mrs. JOHNSON ; viz. that Sort of
 Consanguinity, which subsists between two
 Bastards begotten by the same Father. Very
 well ; he saith, that Dr. SWIFT was not of
 that Opinion. But supposing that Dr. SWIFT
 had been of that Opinion ; I should be glad to
 know, whether he would have acknowledged his
 Bastard Sister Mrs. JOHNSON for a Wife?
 Yes, undoubtedly]* “ because the same false
 “ Pride that induced him to deny the legi-
 “ timate Daughter of an obscure Servant,
 “ might have prompted him to own the
 “ natural Daughter [i. e. the Bastard
 Wench] “ of so eminent a Man as Sir
 “ WILLIAM TEMPLE.” If any one shall
 assert that I have tortured the natural Sense
 and Meaning of the Words, which I declare
 to have been far from my Intention, I will

appeal in Justification of my self to every Scholar in *Europe*; and at the same Time frankly acknowledge, if in the Abundance of their Wisdom they shall pronounce Judgment against me, that I am still unacquainted with those Rules of Grammar which direct us in the Construction of the *antecedent* and the *relative*.

BUT supposing it to be a secondary Meaning resulting from this heroick Flash of Politeness, that Dr. SWIFT was not of Opinion that Mrs. JOHNSON was the Bastard Wench of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE; it remains to be considered how much Honour the Doctor might have acquired by marrying the natural Daughter of so eminent a Person. And because I have the Answer just at my Elbow, I will acknowledge it to be the very same Degree of Honor as a GLUMGLUM of *Lilliput* would acquire, supposing that he married the Bastard Wench of a NARDAC. The Proportion of Honor is without Dispute exactly upon a Par, because Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE was entitled to a Rank superior to Dr. SWIFT just in the same Degree as a NARDAC is entitled to a Rank superior to a GLUMGLUM. With Regard to any further Pre-eminence that Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE enjoyed beyond Dr. SWIFT, his Fortune only excepted, I do profess that I can see none. With Respect to the Abilities of each, I shall not presume to form any Comparison,

parison, but for the Sake of Argument I will suppose them to be equal. And as to the Point of Birth, I declare upon my Veracity, and with high Respect to the Name of TEMPLE, which I greatly honor, that I cannot tell whether Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE had the Advantage or not. Every Body can see what Havock is made in Families by a Course of Ages, particularly in those which seem to have been actuated by an open, generous, disinterested Spirit*; and we are all apprized what Numbers of Families are perpetually raised one above another in Titles, Fortune, &c. by ten Thousand Accidents; sometimes by the Force of their Virtues, which I am persuaded was the Case of the TEMPLE Family; and sometimes by the Force of their Iniquities, † which on the Perusal of History appears notoriously to have been the Case of many others. But to suppose that so great and wise a Man as Dr. SWIFT in all other Respects, could in this particular have been such an Ass, such a Blockhead, and a Driveller, as to imagine that he could have acquired any the least Degree of Honor by marrying the natural Daughter of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, or indeed the natural Daughter of any Person that ever lived upon Earth, is a Conception too

* Vid. Gul. Voy. to *Laputa*, Chap. 8. p. 242.

† Vid. Gul. Voy. to *Laputa*, Chap. 8. p. 241.

too gross and absurd to merit any Kind of an Answer.

C H A P. VI.

HAVING in the fourth Chapter left Dr. SWIFT in his Study at *Moore-Park*, writing those famous Digressions which are added to the Tale of a Tub, and revising the Works of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *, we shall now proceed with as much Regularity from that Period of his Life, as the Nature and Variety of our Design can possibly admit.

BUT since our famous Critick hath pleased to remark upon SWIFT's Manner of travelling, although in my Opinion he hath carried his Observations somewhat too far; I cannot but allow, that when SWIFT was a young Man he was prodigiously fond of rambling, even before his Pocket could afford the common Expences of a Journey; and therefore we cannot but applaud his Manner of Travelling, since travel about he certainly must, or else die of the Spleen. *Oxford, Dublin, London, Moore-Park, and Leicester*, were at various Times the Places of his Abode;

* It is scarce worth while to observe, that among other little obliging Offices to that great Man, SWIFT translated for him his Letters out of the original *French* into *English*.

See Mr.
37, 50, 61, 64

Abode; but *Leicester* in particular, during his *Mother's* Life, he commonly visited once a Year let his general Residence have been where it would. In short, he ran like a Buck from one Place to another upon his own Pasterns. Gates, Styles, and Quicksets, he no more valued than if they had been so many Straws. His Constitution was strong, and his Limbs were active. I suppose if at any Time he sprung into a Waggon, it must have been either occasionally to avoid Rain, or for the sake of Drollery. His Company in those Flights were, I believe, all Sorts of People which he met in Towns and Villages where he chanced to refresh himself; some Chat for an Hour, and again to the Fields. His Imagination was always alive, and perhaps beyond all others he had a Power to conciliate his Ideas to the several Capacities of all human Race, and at the same Time catch Entertainment to himself from every Species of Understanding, agreeable to what is said in that Panegyrick on the DEAN, written in the Person of a Lady* in the North of *Ireland*:

Whene'er you joke, 'tis all a Case;
Whether with DERMOT, or HIS GRACE;
With TEAGUE OMURPHY, or an Earl;
A Duchess or a Kitchen Girl.

With

* Lady ACHESON.

With such Dexterity you fit
 Their sev'ral Talents to your Wit,
 That MOLL the Chamber-maid can smock,
 And GAGHAGAN take ev'ry Joke.

BUT the Account of his "using to lie in
 " Houses where he found written over the
 " Door *Lodgings for a Penny*; and his ge-
 " nerally choosing to dine with *Waggoners*,
 " *Hostlers, and Persons of that Rank*," are
 only to be considered like many other
 Sparks of Rhetorick scattered here and there
 in the several Pages of the *Remarks*, to give
 a Lustre and a Brilliancy to the *Caricatura*
 of Dr. SWIFT.

HOWEVER, indeed, the Doctor hath often
 told his Friends, that whatever Money he
 saved by this Manner of Travelling, he con-
 stantly threw it away, as soon as he went to
London, upon a fine Waistcoat, or some ad-
 ditional Gaiety upon a Suit of Cloaths.

1699? It is further remarked by this very saga-
 cious Critick, that about the Time when Dr.
 SWIFT was Chaplain to my Lord BERKE-
 LEY, he was not to be reconciled to his only
 Sister, who was married to a Man in Trade,
 which he is pleased to insist upon as a very
 particular Instance of his Pride. But what
 Degree of Pride may fairly, upon this Ac-
 count, be imputed to the Doctor, I really
 cannot affirm. Let others pass their Cen-
 sures according to their several Opinions, if
 it

it be worth their while to consider little Family Piques. However, indeed, upon a clear State of the Case, the Matter will appear in the following Light. *<The Doctor's Sister was of a middle Size, finely shaped, and rather beyond what is called the agreeable throughout her whole Person. She was polite and well-bred, with at least a good Share of Understanding.>* She was at that Time worth 300*l.* * which I presume was in those Days a much better Fortune in *Ireland* than a Thousand Pounds would be at present. Added to these Advantages, the Doctor had a Promise from my Lady BETTY BERKELEY, before he had set out from *London*, that his Sister should upon all Occasions, be well received at the *Castle of Dublin*, and frequently meet with some distinguishing Marks of Friendship. Moreover

Jane Swift

* If it should be questioned, how came the Doctor's Sister to be worth 300*l.* when the Doctor himself was not worth a Groat until after the Death of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE? [Vid. App. Sect. 25.] I answer, the same generous Benefactors, the Family of *<the SWIFTS*, who had supported and educated her Brother until he was seven and twenty, made up this little Fortune among them to push her into the World, as they had been equally beneficent to her from the Days of her Infancy. And perhaps this might have been the Reason that she hearkened to the Advice of her Uncles in Opposition to the Remonstrances of her Brother.

over that great Figure which her Brother already made in the learned World, threw an additional Lustre upon all her Pretensions. Yet in the Midst of these pleasing Circumstances she vouchsafed to accept a Proposal of Marriage, by the Advice of her Uncles, from a Tradesman that was reputed to be worth five Thousand Pounds. Which having communicated to her Brother, as soon as she found that he was utterly averse from entertaining the most distant Thoughts of it, she began to remonstrate to him in the Way of Reason, (for the Match was by no Means very desirable in her own Breaff) that she could not support herself on her 300*l*. Upon hearing these Words, her Brother assured her, that he would never see her want the Necessaries or the Conveniencies of Life; and as a further Proof to convince her that his Regards for her were truly affectionate and sincere, he promised to settle upon her 500*l*. being all he was then possessed of in the World, the very Hour that he should get some Benefice in the Church, which he daily expected, provided she would reject this Overture of Marriage with a proper Disdain. But unfortunately she suffered herself to be guided by the Advice of her Uncles, and concluded the Match, perhaps it may be said in Despight of her Brother. Whereupon it cannot be denied, (to use the Words of the Critick) *that he*
grew

grew outrageous at the Thoughts of being Brother-in-Law to a Tradesman. Neither can I blame the Doctor for his Behaviour in this Particular, because how reputable soever Trade is beginning to be in *Ireland* at this Time, it is certain that fifty or sixty Years ago it was in the utmost Contempt. And without Dispute, Opinions of all Sorts, whether founded upon Reason, or built on Prejudice, no Matter which, are the reigning Empresses of this World and all the Fashions thereof. But to speak freely my own Sentiments upon Affairs of this Nature, I think all Sisters have a Right, provided they have Fortunes independent of their Brothers, to marry whom they please; and at the same Time, I think all Brothers have an equal Right either to cultivate some Degree of Friendship with their Sisters Husbands, or if such be their Will and Pleasure, wholly to abstain from their Acquaintance; the latter of which hath, I verily believe, been the Resolution and Practice of many Thousand others beside Dr. SWIFT. However, this glorious, prudential Match of the Doctor's Sister, proved in the End to be unfortunate enough. The Husband was an old, tyrannical, vicious Rake, and with Regard to his 5000*l*. he was scarce worth Half so much on the Day he was married. Yet he continued long enough in the World to beget some two or three Children, then broke

*By an
antient
marriage?*

broke and died, leaving his Family in very deplorable Circumstances. The Doctor upon this Event acquainted his Sister by Message, (for he would never be so far reconciled as to see her Face) that he would allow her 20 l. a Year during her Life, provided she would live in *England*, but not otherwise. And accordingly she went, I think it was to *London*, where she constantly received her Annuity until the Time of her Decease. I have designedly forbore to mention the Part which the Doctor's Mother was either pleased or persuaded to act upon this Occasion, because I am unwilling to form any Sort of Descant upon the Measures of Obedience. However in this, among a Thousand other Cases, I fancy we may apply that Sentiment of HORACE :

——— Sunt certi denique fines,

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.

BUT as these are little Family Quarrels that happened fifty or sixty Years ago, they are, at least in my Opinion, as much below the Consideration of the Publick, as indeed they are unworthy of any critical Observation.

BUT to return more immediately to our Purpose. The Doctor while he continued in the House of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *, having begun to reflect that it was full Time for him to resolve upon some Profession whereby

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 25.

whereby to maintain himself independent, was inclined to run his Fortune under the Banner of the Church. But as at that Time his Circumstances were extreemly confined, he had some Scruple of entering into that sacred Profession meerly for a Support. However it came to pass that while he pondered upon these Matters, Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, who was at that Time Master of the Rolls in *Ireland*, offered him an Employment of about 120 *l.* a Year in that Office; whereupon the Doctor said, that since he had now an Opportunity of living without being driven into the Church for a Maintenance, he was resolved to go to *Ireland* and take holy Orders. The Doctor having in this Manner declared his Resolution, Sir WILLIAM recommended him to the Lord CAPEL, then Lord Deputy, who gave him a Prebend in the North worth about 100 *l.* a Year, of which growing weary in a few Months he returned to *England*, resigned his Living in Favour of a Friend, and continued in Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE'S House until the Death of that great Man, who besides a Legacy, left him the Care and Trust and Advantage of publishing his posthumous Writings.

DR. SWIFT upon this Event removed to *London**, and applied by Memorial to King WILLIAM, upon the Claim of a Promise

HIS

* Vid. Appendix, Sect. 26.

HIS MAJESTY had made to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, that he would give the Doctor a Prebend of *Canterbury* or *Westminster* as soon as there was a Vacancy in either of those Cathedrals. <And as a further Inducement to the King not to forget his Memorial, he dedicated unto HIM the Works of his old Friend Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.> But all his Endeavours to obtain some Church Preferment in *England* proved ineffectual. He relied upon the Word of HIS MAJESTY, and paid his Respects at the Court of that Prince, until he found by Experience that he was totally unacquainted with the Heart of that political Monarch. This Attendance of Dr. SWIFT at the Court of his Sovereign, is stiled by the famous Critick so often mentioned, *a State of Servility and Contempt*. But whether all the Nobility and Gentry who have an Eye to Preferment, and therefore pay their Attendance at their Prince's Court, live in *State of Servility and Contempt*, is a Point of Delicatsse beyond my Knowledge of the World, as I never threw myself into the Road of expecting Favours either from Kings, their Deputies, or their Ministers. If indeed such be the Case of all those who pass under the general Name of *Courtiers*, I allow the Doctor to have been a Slave in the midst of a great deal of good Company. But if the Case be otherwise, I cannot conceive why Servility and

and Contempt should have been the Portion of Dr. SWIFT more than of any one else, were it for no other Reason, than because the Greatness of his own Spirit (which upon every Occasion is called Pride or Ambition throughout the whole Body of the *Remarks*) made him forsake the Court of King WILLIAM, and apply himself unto those who had a clearer Sense of his Abilities. I know it is said by this admired Critick, and perhaps with great Judgment, "That the Pro-mises of Kings are often a Kind of Chaff
 " which the Breath of a Minister bloweth
 " and scattereth away from the Face of a
 " Court." But whether or no King WILLIAM, that Prince of great Sincerity, where he thought his Honor was concerned among his Protestant Allies of *Europe*, was obliged to perform his Promise to his old Friend Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, is a Point of Casuistry wholly beyond my Reach in *Politicks*, and therefore I leave it to be controverted by the Dabblers in that Science. However, indeed, I am afraid that Dr. SWIFT in the Beginning of his Life, before he had met with this ungracious, unmerited Disappointment, was not thoroughly convinced that a Monarch so renowned for the Glory of his Arms against the Prowess of Louis the XIVth, had a Right upon the Death of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE to forget his old Companion, that used to ramble about with HIM

in the Fields and Gardens at *Sheen* (Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE by Reason of the Gout being unable to attend HIS MAJESTY upon those Occasions) where in their Evening Conversations among other Bagatelles, the King, as I have heard from the Doctor's own Mouth, offered to make him a Captain of Horse, and gave him Instructions, so great was the Freedom of their Conversation, how to cut Asparagus (a Vegetable which HIS MAJESTY was extremely fond of) in the *Dutch* Manner. Perhaps it was owing to the King's very distant Behaviour towards him after the Death of Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, and especially to that ungracious Neglect of his Memorial, that during the Remainder of his Life

SWIFT follow'd DAVID's Lesson just,
In Prince's never put his Trust.*

A Maxim which cannot be called in Question without great Impiety, as the *Psalms* of DAVID were written by Inspiration from on high, and are frequently quoted in that Light by the Apostles of our BLESSED REDEEMER.

OUR young Adventurer in Politicks and Divinity having intirely forsaken the Court of King WILLIAM, complied with an Invitation given him by the Earl of BERKELEY

* Vid. Gul. Voy. to *Lilliput*, Chap. 8. p. 81.

See Down Swift's
Counselor addition
to this in
Morgan MSS.
(if annotations
herein to
the family of Swift)
for.

LEY to attend him to *Ireland* as his Chaplain and private Secretary, his Lordship having been appointed one of the Lords Justices of that Kingdom. He attended his Lordship, who landed near *Waterford*, and the Doctor acted as Secretary the whole Journey to *Dublin*. But another Person had so far insinuated himself into the Earl's Favour, by telling him that the Post of Secretary was not proper for a Clergyman, nor would be of any Advantage to one whose Aim was directed only at Church Preferment, that his Lordship after a poor Apology, gave that Office to the other. SWIFT fired with Indignation at this injurious Treatment, writ the following satyrical Copy of Verses, entitled *The Discovery*; which, although privately shewn to some particular Friends, was never, I think, printed in any Collection of his Works until the Year 1751.

The DISCOVERY.

When wise Lord BERKELEY first came here,
 Statesmen and Mob expected Wonders,
 Nor thought to find so great a Peer,
 E're a Week pass'd committing Blunders,
 Till on a Day cut out by Fate
 When Folks came thick to make their Court,
 Out slipt a Mystery of State,
 To give the Town and Country Sport.

Now

Now enters BUSH * with new State Airs,
 His Lordship's premier Minister;
 And who in all profound Affairs,
 Is held as needful as his C—ter.†
 With Head reclining on his Shoulder,
 He deals and hears mysterious Chat,
 While ev'ry ignorant Beholder
 Asks of his Neighbour, who is that?
 With this he puts up to my Lord,
 The Courtiers kept their Distance due,
 He twitch'd his Sleeve, and stole a Word;
 Then to a Corner both withdrew.
 Imagine now my Lord and BUSH
 Whisp'ring in Junto most profound,
 Like good King PHYZ §, and good King USH,
 While all the rest stood gaping round.
 At Length a Spark, not too well bred
 Of forward Face, and Ear acute,
 Advanc'd on Tiptoe, lean'd his Head,
 To over-hear the grand Dispute.
 To learn what northern Kings design,
 Or from *Whiteball* some new Express,
 Papists disarm'd, or Fall of Coin,
 For sure (thought he) it can't be less.
 My Lord, said BUSH, a Friend and I
 Disguis'd in two old Thread-bare Coats,
 E're Morning's Dawn stole out to spy
 How Markets went for Hay and Oats:
 With

* My Lord's wife Secretary.

† Always taken before my Lord went to Council.

§ Vid. the Rehearsal.

With that he draws two Handfuls out,
 The one was Oats, the other Hay;
 Puts this to's Excellency's Snout,
 And begs he wou'd the other weigh.
 My Lord seems pleas'd, but still directs
 By all Means to bring down the Rates;
 Then with a Congee circumflex,
 Bush, smiling round on all, retreats.
 Our List'ner stood a while confus'd,
 But gath'ring Spirits wisely ran for't,
 Enrag'd to see the World abus'd
 By two such whisp'ring Kings of *Brentford*.

THIS Poem, as well as the subsequent in BATHURST's Edition, which is entitled the Problem, and which indeed is far from being the most delicate of all his Performances, were both written in the Year 1699.

I CANNOT tell whether it be worth recording among the Anecdotes of his Life; but in the Year 1699, SWIFT had like to have burnt the Castle of *Dublin*, and the Lord BERKELEY in the midst of it. For the Doctor, whose Bed-chamber was the next Room to his Excellency's, having grown Drowsy over his Book while he was reading in Bed, dropt asleep without extinguishing his Candle; which happening to fall upon his Quilt, set it on Fire, and burnt its Passage quite through the Bed-cloaths until it reached his Thigh. SWIFT rowled by the Pain leaped out of Bed, and

extinguished the Fire, which by this Time had burnt Part of the Curtains. He took Care to have the Damages repaired ; and by throwing away some Guineas in Hush-money, the Accident was never made known in the Castle.

* HOWEVER, it happened that in a few Months after the Earls of BERKELEY and GALWAY had been settled in the Government, the Deanery of *Derry* fell vacant, and it was the Earl of BERKELEY's Turn to dispose of it. Yet Things were so ordered, that the Secretary having received a Bribe, the Deanery was disposed of to another, and Dr. SWIFT was put off with some other Church Livings not worth above a third Part of that rich Deanery, and at this present not a sixth. The Excuse pretended was his being too young, although he were then above two and thirty Years old.

I HAVE been told, that upon the Secretary's being offered a Thousand Pounds for the Deanery of *Derry* he would not conclude the Bargain, but kept it in reserve, until he had acquainted the Doctor with the Proposal he had received ; which after he had done, he made SWIFT the Offer of the Deanery for the like Sum : But SWIFT told him plainly, that he thought he had nothing to do with Ecclesiastical Preferments, and
rejected

* This Paragraph is taken almost Word for Word from the *Appendix*, Sect. 27.

rejected his Overture with all imaginable Disdain. There is likewise a Report, that upon the Earl of BERKELEY's designing to promote SWIFT to the Deanery abovementioned, Dr. KING, then Bishop of that Diocese, and afterwards translated to the Archbishopical See of *Dublin*, interposed with a good deal of Warmth against the Preferment of SWIFT unto that Deanery; signifying to the Earl, that SWIFT was a Man too young and volatile for the Air of that Diocese; neither was it reasonable to expect, that a Man so prodigiously fond of rambling from one Kingdom to another, would be content to reside in the North of *Ireland*, or expend any Degree of Labour in assisting his Bishop to reconcile *Presbyterians*, and other *puritanical Sectarists*, unto the established Church. These Representations might have furnished the Earl with some Kind of Apology for gratifying his Secretary. But whether or no Dr. KING, who was at that Time very deservedly in high Reputation, although descended from the meanest of the People*, was not afraid of being eclipsed by the superior Lustre of this young aspiring Genius, who was in all Respects, notwithstanding that he agreed with the Bishop in Affairs Ecclesiastical, a Man of a quite different Cast and Manner of Thinking, I

I 4

shall

* He was the Son of a Miller.

shall not presume to assert. However it is by no Means improbable, that SWIFT's prodigious Talents, which appear throughout his whole Life to have been dreaded by all his Cotemporaries, not excepting even those Ministers, who were desirous to have the Honour of being ranked among his best Friends, (which is a Point that I shall enlarge upon with more Freedom in some other Place) had a greater Share in obstructing his Promotion to the Deanery of *Derry*, than perhaps any silly, trifling Objections against his Youth and Sprightliness. GRANVILLE, ST. JOHN, TEMPLE, were at the Age of thirty, or thereabouts, employed by their several Courts in the Management of those Affairs, which required all the noblest and the most extensive Abilities, that can be supposed to exist in the most consummate States-men : And yet we do not find, that it was ever imagined their Youth and Sprightliness would be the Cause of their Miscarriage in the most difficult of their Negotiations. And surely if thirty, or thirty two, be an Age for exerting all the Powers of a great Minister, the same will be thought sufficient for the Exercise of those Talents, which are required in the Governor of any remote Cathedral ?

HOWEVER, those Livings, which at that Time were given to the Doctor in Lieu of
the

the above Deanery, were *Laracor* * and *Rathbeggan* in the Diocese of *Meath*, the former worth about 200, and the latter about sixty Pounds a Year.

As soon as the Earls of BERKELEY and GALWAY had been succeeded in the Government by the Primate and the Earl of DROGHEDA, which happened, I think, somewhat about a Year after his being presented to these Livings, poor SWIFT, half in despair of any further Preferment, gallops down to *Laracor*; where Solitude, Retirement, the fanning of Leaves, and the warbling of Birds, threw him into some Kind of Reveries, more suitable, if any Stress can be laid on the general Opinions of the World, to the Gravity and Sedateness of an older Divine, than to that abundant Sprightliness and Fire, which animated the Soul of this young, vigorous, uncommon, heteroclite Genius. Perhaps it may be thought exceedingly strange by those who admire SWIFT only for his Wit and Politics, that immediately after he had gone to reside in the Country, he should begin to reflect, that he was entrusted with the Cure of Souls. But SWIFT was really a Man of high

* The Rectory of *Agber* and the Vicarage of *Laracor* make but one Benefice. They are adjacent Parishes, united by the Bishop. As the Church is at *Laracor*, the Benefice generally passes under that Denomination.

high Religion, without Grunting, Groaning, Canting, Hypocrisy, or making wry Faces; and sure it is, that in Proportion to those Talents, which he is allowed to have possessed in the most eminent Degree, he beat all his Cotemporaries many Thousand of Leagues in the Race of Christianity; but of this hereafter. In short, he gave his Parishioners a publick Invitation to attend the Service of GOD upon every *Wednesday* and *Friday*. And accordingly the Bell was rang on the *Wednesday* following; but not a Soul appeared in the Church except the Rector and his Clark ROGER; which the Doctor finding to be the Case, after he had waited for some reasonable Time, he began with great Composure of Countenance, but with a certain droll Mixture of Gravity and Humour; “*dearly beloved ROGER, the* “*Scripture moveth you and me in sundry* “*Places;*” and afterwards with great Regularity proceeded throughout the whole Service. What a glorious Priest would he have been, to reform the young and sprightly from the Extravagance of their Ways? But alas! that amazing Capacity, so continually rolling over with Torrents of Wit and Humour, was by no Means adapted to the Solemnity of a Country Parish, or to the Consolation of old Women.

⟨DURING the Reign of King WILLIAM,⟩
little or nothing happened extraordinary in
the

the Doctor's Life, more than what we have touched upon already in a cursory Way. However, *The Tale of a Tub*, *The Battle of the Books*, and *The Discourse concerning the mechanical Operation of the Spirit*, were all "published" in those Times. It is reported with Regard to other Compositions, that he writ in the early Part of his Life several Poems in that irregular Kind of Metre, which I think with great Impropriety of Speech is called the *Pindarick*; whereby it is certain, that he acquired no Sort of Reputation. (I have been told, that his Cousin JOHN DRYDEN * expressed a good deal of Contempt for a pretty large Collection of these Poems, which had been shewn to him in Manuscript by his Bookseller; for which Treatment I verily believe it was, that in return to his Compliment the Doctor hath on all Occasions been so unmercifully severe upon that famous Writer.) But this Kind of Usage among the Sticklers for Reputation, is sanctified by immemorial Prescription. To the best of my Remembrance, DRYDEN himself hath declared,

Poets shou'd ne'er be Drones, mean harmless Things ;

But guard, like Bees, their Labours by their Stings.

HOWEVER,

* JOHN DRYDEN was Cousin German to the Doctor's Father.

See next
page
John Toulson?

HOWEVER, indeed, there are but three Specimens of the Doctor's that I know of in the *Pindarick* Measure, the first *An Ode to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE*, written in the Year 1689; the second *An Ode to King WILLIAM*, written when HIS MAJESTY was in *Ireland*; and the last *An Ode to the Athenian Society*, written in the Year 1691. The first and the last of these Odes are in BATHURST's Edition of Dr. SWIFT's *Miscellanies*, but the second is, I believe, only to be met with in the *Athenian Oracle*. <The rest of his Poems in that Style, Thanks to his own better Judgment, and the Opinion of JOHN DRYDEN, were all burnt.>

WE find, however, that when the Earl of BERKELEY was one of the *Lords Justices of Ireland*, SWIFT's true poetical Vein (*Pindarick* Flights being intirely out of the Road of his Talents) began to discover itself in some occasional Pieces which he writ in those Times, particularly in the *Ballad on the Game of Traffick*, in *The Ballad to the Tune of the Cut-purse*, and in

The humble Petition of Mrs. FRANCIS HARRIS

*Who must starve, and die a Maid if it miscarries.**

By

* These Poems are all wrong dated in the several Editions of his Works. It appears to a Demonstration they were all written in the Year 1699.

June-Aug.
1690

See
miscellanies
page

BY casting our Eyes over the *Ballad on the Game of Traffick*, we may observe in what Manner the Earl and Countess of BERKELEY, and their little Groupe at the Castle of *Dublin*, spent their Evenings in private when they were totally disengaged from the Noise, the Bustle, and the Plague of Business and Ceremony. The several Characters which make up this little Groupe are the Earl and Countess of BERKELEY, Mrs. BIDDY FLOYD, Mrs. HERRIES, Mrs. WESTON, and Dr. SWIFT. The Ballad appears to have been designed as a Piece of Raillery upon the whole Set, and purely written for their domestic Entertainment. This Poem, as far as it runs, for it is only a Fragment, is full of Mirth, and Humour, the second Stanza in particular is wonderfully striking:

But then his HONOUR cry'd, Godzooks!
 And seem'd to knit his Brow;
 For on a Knave he never looks
 But h' thinks upon JACK HOW.

The Surprize of my Lord BERKELEY, and the bringing JACK HOW to remembrance upon the Sight of a Knave, for no other Reason than because he was a famous Anticourtier in those Times, perpetually opposing and thwarting the Measures of King WILLIAM in the House of Commons, is a whimsical Piece of Drollery in the poetick Strain,

Strain, especially when addressed to a Court Lord in one of the highest Employments. We are at a Loss to know whether any more Characters were designed to have been introduced into this Ballad, but we may reasonably suppose there were, because in Reality it seemeth to have been broken off in the very Midst of its Career. However indeed, the Politeness of Dr. SWIFT would not suffer him to enlarge or correct it after my Lady BETTY BERKELEY had in a Manner given it the finishing Stroke; on Occasion of which he writ the subsequent *Ballad to the Tune of the Cut-purse*, which hath Abundance of Life, Humour, Pleasantry, and Politeness.

THE Petition of Mrs. FRANCES HARRIS, although it may be ranked in that Class of Poetry which is called *low Humour*, is full of Mirth and Raillery. <The Doctor himself and Mrs. FRANCES HARRIS are the two principal Characters, against whom this Ridicule is immediately pointed.> However, there is one beautiful Stroke of Nature in this Poem worthy to be remarked, which in the Way of characterising can never be excelled by any Effort of Genius. Do but observe the Answer of the old deaf House-keeper in the following Lines:

Then

Then my Dame WADGAR came, and she
 you know is thick of Hearing;
 Dame, said I, as loud as I could bawl, do
 you know what a Loss I have had?
 Nay, said she, my Lord COLWAY's * Folks
 are all very sad;
 For my Lord DROMEDARY † comes a Tuesday
 without fail;
 Pugh, said I, but that is not the Business
 that I ail.

IN one Word, whoever can read this Pe-
 tition of Mrs. FRANCES HARRIS without
 feeling some extraordinary Pleasure, hath,
 in my Opinion, neither Wit, Humour, Judg-
 ment, nor any Taste for Poetry in his whole
 Composition.

HOWEVER it happened just about the
 close of the Reign of King WILLIAM, that
 Dr. SWIFT, immediately after the Publica-
 tion of that Piece entitled, *A Discourse of the
 Contests and Dissensions between the NOBLES
 and COMMONS in Athens and Rome*, return-
 ed from England to Ireland, where having
 met with old Bishop SHERIDAN at his Uncle
 WILLIAM SWIFT's in Dublin, the Bishop
 after some little Conversation with him
 about the Affairs of England, asked him if
 he had read the *Discourse of the Contests and
 Dissensions between the NOBLES and COM-
 MONS*

* GALWAY'S. † DROGHEDA.

MONS in *Athens and Rome*, and what Reputation it carried at *London*? The Doctor told him with a good deal of Modesty, that he had read it, and that as far as he had observed, it was very well liked at *London*. Very well liked, said the Bishop, with some Degree of Emotion? Yes, Sir, it is one of the finest Tracts that ever was written. Well, surely Bishop BURNET is one of the best Writers in the whole World! Bishop BURNET, my Lord, said the Doctor? Why, my Lord, Bishop BURNET was not the Author of that Discourse. Not the Author of it, said the Bishop? Why, Sir, there is never a Man in *England* except the Bishop capable of writing it. I can assure your Lordship, replied the Doctor, Bishop BURNET was not the Author of it. Not the Author of it, said the Bishop? Pray Sir give me your Reason, your Reason Mr. SWIFT for thinking so. Because, my Lord, that Discourse is not written in the Bishop's Style. Not in the Bishop's Style, replied old SHERIDAN with some Degree of Contempt? No, my Lord, the Style of that Pamphlet is I think wholly different from the Style of the Bishop. Oh, Mr. SWIFT, replied SHERIDAN, I have had a long Acquaintance with your Uncles, and an old Friendship for all your Family, and really I have a great Regard for you in particular. But let me advise you, let me advise you Mr. SWIFT, for you

you are still a very young Man, I know you have a good Share of Abilities, and are a good Scholar; however, let me assure you notwithstanding, that you are still a great deal too young to pronounce your Judgment on the Style of Authors. I am greatly obliged to your Lordship, replied SWIFT, for the good Opinion you are pleased to entertain of me, but still I am to assure your Lordship that Bishop BURNET was not the Author of that Discourse. Well, Sir, if Bishop BURNET was not the Author of it, pray Sir let me know who it was that did write it? Why, really, my Lord, I writ it myself. And this was the first Time that ever he acknowledged himself to be the Author of that famous Tract.

BUT before I have done with this Chapter, I cannot but observe, that it is remarked by the famous Critick so often mentioned, *That in Point of Style and Learning this Tract is equal, if not superior, to any of his political Works.* In Point of Learning, if indeed by Learning the Critick meaneth an Acquaintance with *Greek* and *Latin* Authors, and with those only (which by the way to imagine, how inestimable soever the Writings of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, is only a Rag of Pedantry that more or less we have all brought from School) I am ready to accord with his Remark, if it were only for this Reason; because the whole is nothing

else but the Substance of *Greek* and *Latin* History, applied (in favour of the Cause which he intended to serve) with infinite Judgment and Sagacity to the Contests and Dissensions between the NOBLES and COMMONS of *England* in those Times. But in Point of Style I cannot think it equal to *The publick Spirit of the WHIGS*, much less to that glorious political Tract which is entitled *A Preface to the Bishop of SARUM's Introduction*.

ALL I shall say further with Regard to this famous *Discourse concerning the Contests and Dissensions*, &c. is, that I should have been more pleased to have seen the political Talents of Dr. SWIFT exerted on the other Side of the Question. We are not to consider this Pamphlet as a *Defence*, but rather as an *Apology* for his supposed Friends. I am willing to presume that he acted for the best, but to look into Futurity is a peculiar Blessing only granted to Prophets.

C H A P. VII.

WE shall now proceed to accompany the Doctor from the Beginning of this Century, or rather from the Death of King WILLIAM until he became acquainted with the Earl of OXFORD in the Year 1710. But since there are few or none of his Friends

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Friends now living, who were in those Times among the Number of his Acquaintance, we shall endeavour to supply our Want of Anecdotes, by observing in what Manner he employed his Leisure during that Period, so far as may be gathered from his own Writings.

THAT celebrated *Meditation upon a Broomstick*, so universally admired by all Persons of Taste and Learning, was written by the Doctor in the Year 1703; in Derision of the Style and Cant of an Author, whose Meditations were I suppose in the Hands of twenty or thirty old Women, and perhaps some other hypocondriacal People in those Times. When SWIFT diverted himself in this Manner, he was about the Age of five or six and thirty, rising into the high Noon of Life, Judgment, and Abilities, and consequently must have held in utter Contempt all Kinds of Meditations, whether written by that Person whom he derides, or by the greatest Genius in *England*; that Sort of Scribbling above all other, being in Truth the most impertinently ridiculous. However, it is a Case worthy of our deepest Lamentation, that so good a Man as the Author of the Meditations, should have received such an unmerciful Stroke from the Hands of Dr. SWIFT. Nevertheless, it cannot be asserted from this jocular, sarcastick Meditation, that Dr. SWIFT fell indiscrimi-
K 2 nately

nately upon Friends and Foes; were it for no other Reason, than because it is impossible to prove, that ever indeed that Person, whose Writings have been treated with such infinite Ridicule, had the Honour to be at all acquainted with Dr. SWIFT, much less that he could ever boast to have had a Share in his Friendship.

SUBSEQUENT to the *Meditation upon a Broomstick* ought immediately to be ranked in Form and Order, *The Tritical Essay upon the Faculties of the Mind*, which was written about the same Time with the former, viz. in the Year 1703; a Piece wherein the Spirit of Ridicule is very highly displayed. The Author gravely pretends that his Subject is of mighty Importance; that his Sentiments are intirely new; that his Quotations are untouched by others; and above all, that he hath treated his Subject with much Order, Fulness, and Perspecuity; on which Account he hath proposed it as a Pattern for young Writers to imitate; and desireth it may be considered as the utmost Effort of his Genius. Whereas in Fact the Subject is of little Importance; the Sentiments are old and stale, the Quotations are thread-bare; and to compleat his Ridicule, he has treated his Subject in a light, careless, rambling, superficial Manner, without Order, Fulness, Meaning, or Perspecuity: And therefore it is only to be considered, like *The Meditation*
on

on a *Broom-stick*, in a farcical, satyrick Light, purely designed to expose the Folly and Temerity of those brainless, illiterate Scriblers, who are eternally plaguing their Cotemporaries with a Parcel of wild, incoherent, nonsensical Trash.

FROM the Year 1703 until the latter End of the Year 1706, we can trace Dr. SWIFT only by a few Copies of Verses, particularly his Ridicule on Coquettes and Petit-maitres, supposed to have been *written in a Lady's Ivory Table-book*; his Poem *On the Union*, which I think was never published until after his Decease; and that excessive bitter *Description of a Salamander*, occasioned by the Duke of MARLBOROUGH's giving that Appellation to my Lord CUTTS, after he had come off victorious and without a Wound from an Engagement with Part of the *French Army*, whose Fire was so extremely brisk, and so incessantly poured in upon the *English Forces*, that it was supposed nothing but a *Salamander* could have lived in the Midst of it.

But e'er since Men invented Guns,
A diff'rent Way their Fancy runs;
To paint an Hero, we enquire
For something that will conquer FIRE.
Wou'd you describe TURENNE or TRUMP,
Think of a Bucket, or a Pump,

Are these too low?—then find one grander
Call my Lord CUTTS a *Salamander*.

NEITHER do we find that in the Year 1707 there was any Thing of his printed except two Copies of Verses; the first is the Poem *On Mrs. BIDDY FLOYD*, or, *The Receipt to form a Beauty*, which is allowed by all Persons of Taste and Judgment, to be such a Master-piece in its Kind, that it must for ever abide the Test of all future Ages.

THE other Piece which he writ in this Year, is a very courtly, poetick Address, *To the Hon. Mrs. FINCH, under the Name of ARDELIA*; wherein, after APOLLO is introduced with Abundance of Gallantry, he commands that Lady (if I do not greatly misunderstand the Author's Meaning) to publish her Verses; and by the Persuasion of Dr. SWIFT, to accept Renown for the Grace and Delicacy of her poetical Works;

Then full of Rage APOLLO spoke,
Deceitful Nymph! I see thy Art;
And though I can't my Gift revoke,
I'll disappoint its nobler Part.
Let stubborn Pride possess thee long,
And be thou negligent of Fame;
With ev'ry Muse to grace thy Song,
May'st thou despise a Poet's Name.

Of

Of modest Poets thou be first,
 To silent Shades repeat thy Verse,
 Till FAME and ECCHO almost burst,
 Yet hardly dare one Line rehearse.
 And last, my Vengeance to compleat;
 May you descend to take Renown,
 Prevail'd on by the Thing you hate,
 A Whig, and one that wears a Gown.

To understand what the Doctor meaneth by a WHIG in the above Passage, you may consult his Letter from a Member of the House of COMMONS in *Ireland* to a Member of the House of COMMONS in *England* [Vol. 4. P. 11.] “Whoever bears a true
 “Veneration for the glorious Memory of
 “King WILLIAM, as our great Deliverer
 “from *Popery* and *Slavery*; whoever is
 “firmly loyal to our present Queen, with
 “an utter Abhorrence and Detestation of
 “the *Pretender*; whoever approves the
 “Succession to the Crown in the House of
 “*Hanover*, and is for preserving the Doc-
 “trine and Discipline of the Church of
 “*England*, with an *Indulgence* for scrupu-
 “lous Consciences; such a Man we think
 “acts upon right Principles, and may be
 “justly allowed a WHIG; and I believe
 “there are not six Members in our House
 “of Commons who may not fairly come
 “under this Description. So that the Par-
 “ties among us are made up on one Side of

“ moderate *Whigs*, and on the other of
“ *Presbyterians* and their *Abettors*; by which
“ last I mean, such who can equally go to
“ a *Church* or a *Conventicle*; or such who
“ are indifferent to all Religion in general;
“ or, lastly, such who affect to bear a per-
“ sonal Rancor towards the Clergy. These
“ last are a Set of Men not of our own
“ Growth; their Principles at least have
“ been *imported* of late Years; yet this
“ whole Party put together will not, I am
“ confident, amount to above fifty Men in
“ Parliament, which can hardly be worked
“ up into a Majority of three Hundred.”

SUCH were the political Principles of Dr. SWIFT, from which I am persuaded that he never once swerved throughout his whole Life. As for the meer Appellation of *Whig* or *Tory*, as these Words have no determined Signification, a Man certainly may call himself either, in Compliance with the Fashion of the Times, without ever changing his Principles, supposing that he is neither a *Jacobite* on the one Side, nor a *Fanatick* on the other; which, according to the best Intelligence that I have received, whether from Books or Conversation, hath been the usual Practice of all the wise and prudent, since the Time of the Revolution. This I could easily prove, were it a Point worth insisting upon, from innumerable Examples. But the violent of each Party, (who are, generally

nerally speaking, the most illiterate, egregious Dunces of the whole Pack,) will never suffer, if they can help it, a thoughtful wise Man, who endeavours by all the Means in his Power to preserve intire the whole Constitution, both of *Church* and *State* as by Law established, to continue Right in his Senses: I say, *to continue Right in his Senses*; because, whoever runs into the Extream of the *Whig* Principle, is ready, upon the first Occasion that offers, to subvert the Church; and whoever runs into the Extream of the *Tory* Principle, is equally ready to subvert the State; or in other Words, to subvert the Liberties of the Weal-publick. And therefore to avoid both the one and the other, as Poisons equally destructive to the best Constitution that ever was moulded into Form, since the Creation of the World; is without Controversy, the Duty of all wise and good Men, who have any Regard and Veneration for their Church, their King, their Constitution, or their Country.

BUT to return from this Digression; we may observe the Genius of DR. SWIFT to break forth upon us in the Year 1708, with such an astonishing Blaze of Humour, Politicks, Religion, Patriotism, Wit and Poetry; that if the World had been totally unacquainted with all his former Reputation, the Productions of that one Year would have

have been highly sufficient to have established his Fame unto all Eternity.

SWIFT commences the Year 1708 with a Course of Papers relating to PARTRIGE the *Almanack Maker*, wherein those who have a Taste for Mirth and Humour, will find Abundance of Entertainment. They are designed as a Ridicule upon all that foolish Tribe, who set up for Astrologers; and, without one Rag of Learning, are great Pretenders to Science. *The Elegy on PARTRIGE* can never be sufficiently relished by those who are unacquainted with these whimsical Tracts. However, it is a Point worth observing, that upon all Occasions, DR. SWIFT remembers the Fanatical Party; neither would he allow a poor Cobler, Star-Monger and Quack, to go out of the World, until upon his Death Bed he had declared himself a Nonconformist, and had a Fanatick Preacher to be his Spiritual Guide. Moreover, it should not be forgotten, that the Inquisition of Portugal was pleased, in their great Wisdom, to burn the Predictions of ISAAC BICKERSTAFF, Esq. and to condemn the Author and Readers of them, as DR. SWIFT was assured by SIR PAUL METHUEN [*a Name always pronounced with Pleasure by the whole Family of the SWIFTS, in Remembrance of their old Friendships with Sir PAUL, and his Father*] then Ambassador to that Crown.

PERHAPS

PERHAPS it is not unworthy of our Remark, that from one of the Pamphlets of this Year, entitled, *A Letter from a Member of the House of COMMONS in Ireland, to a Member of the House of Commons in England, concerning the Sacramental Test*, DR. SWIFT appears to have been the Patron of Ireland so early as the Year 1708; and besides that, to have asserted, although in a cursory Way, the Liberties of his Country*, upon the same noble and generous Principles, so directly opposite to *Slavery* and *arbitrary Power*, which he pursued in a Course of Reasoning, abundantly more diffusive, in the Year 1724, as the Iniquity and Corruption of those Days more immediately and expressly required to be lashed with an unbounded Severity. The Author of *the Remarks* would, I suppose, if he had considered the whole Merits of this Pamphlet, have corrected that Mistake at the latter End of SWIFT's Character, in his first Letter; where he asserts, *that when the Doctor found himself entirely disappointed* [whether of obtaining a Settlement in England, or of gratifying his Ambition with the Enjoyment of Power; both which I very sincerely agree with him, were eternally in the Doctor's View, *provided he could have obtained them with Honour*] *he turned his Thoughts to Opposition, and became the Patron of Ireland,*

* Vid, Vol. 4. p. 3. 4. 5.

land, *in which Country he was born*: I believe indeed, the many Disappointments he had experienced from all Parties, which, perhaps were more than sufficient to have sharpened the Edge of a more gentle Spirit; added Gall and Nitre to his Ink; especially after all his Hopes were intirely blasted in the Year 1714. But still I am convinced, that let the Doctor's Fate have happened where it would, either in *England* or *Ireland*, he would have eternally fought under the Banner of LIBERTY; and with a noble disinterested Zeal, have been a Patron to his Country, as I think appears to a Demonstration, from all his Writings, whether intended for the Support of an Administration or designed to crash in Pieces the Jaw Bone of the Oppressor. I shall wave any particular Remarks on the above Treatise, so far as it relates to the *Sacramental Test*, until we arrive at that Period of his Life, when he attacks the whole Body of Fanaticks, and all their glorious Partisans, in the Year 1733.

THAT Piece, entitled *The Sentiments of a Church of England MAN with respect to Religion and Government*, seemeth to have been one of his Projects for uniting of Parties*, and written with a Design to check that Rage and Violence which subsisted in those Times, between the contending Factions

* Vid. Let. to Col. HUNTER, BATHURST'S Edition, V. 14, p. 116.

tions of *Whig* and *Tory*; and perhaps, to commend in the Place of that abominable Rancor and Malice, which had broken all the Laws of Charity and Hospitality among human Kind, those candid salutary Principles, with Respect to Religion and Government; which if rightly comprehended, and vigorously pursued, might certainly preserve the whole Constitution, both of *Church* and *State*, for ten thousand Generations. The Style of the whole Pamphlet is remarked by the Critick upon SWIFT's Life and Writings, to be nervous, and, except in some few Places, impartial. What he means by an *impartial Style*, I protest I am at a Loss to conceive. But—hang Trifles; they are not worth our Attention. However indeed, if he means that DR. SWIFT is partial in some of his Accounts relating to *Whig* and *Tory*; I presume it would have been Right to have quoted those particular Passages. For my own Part, let what I am going to say please or displease whom it will, I cannot observe any the least Partiality throughout the whole Pamphlet, as I believe historical Proofs might easily be accumulated from the most authentick Writers, to confirm all the Assertions of the Doctor on either Side of the Question.

THE *Argument against abolishing* CHRISTIANITY, which is the Production of the same Year, is, according to the best of my
Judg-

Judgment, the most delicate, refined, compleat, unvaried Piece of Irony, from the Beginning to the End, that ever was written since the Creation of the World; and without Dispute, if in the Works of Man there can be supposed any such Thing as real Perfection, we must allow it to consist in those amazing Productions of Wit and Humour, which in all Probability can never be excelled by any Effort of Genius, and beyond which it is impossible to frame any critical or distinct Idea of the human Faculties. But to give you some little Specimen of this ironical Tract. After the Author hath declared that he writes only in Defence of *nominal Christianity* (for as to *real Christianity*, such as used in primitive Times, if we may believe the Authors of those Ages, to have an Influence upon Men's Belief and Actions, he hopes no Reader will imagine him so weak to stand up in Defence of it) he proceedeth to mention some few Inconveniencies that might happen, if the GOSPEL should be repealed, which perhaps the Projectors might not have sufficiently considered; and upon this Occasion, he pushes the following Argument against them, with infinite Humour, Wit, and Ridicule: " If CHRISTI-
" ANITY (saith he) were once abolished,
" how could the Free Thinkers, the strong
" Reasoners, and the Men of profound
" Learning, be able to find another Subject
" so

“ so calculated in all Points whereon to display their Abilities. What wonderful Productions of Wit should we be deprived of, from those whose Genius by continual Practice hath been wholly turned upon Raillery and Invectives against Religion, and would therefore never be able to shine or distinguish themselves upon any other Subject. We are daily complaining of the great Decline of Wit among us, and would we take away the greatest, perhaps the only Topick we have left? Who would ever have suspected ASGILL for a Wit, or TOLAND for a Philosopher, if the inexhaustible Stock of Christianity had not been at Hand to provide them with Materials? What other Subject through all Art or Nature could have produced TINDAL for a profound Author, or furnished him with Readers? It is the wise Choice of the Subject that alone adorns and distinguishes the Writer. For had an hundred such Pens as these been employed on the Side of Religion, they would have immediately sunk into Silence and Oblivion.”

In the poetical Way, besides *The Elegy on PARTRIGE*, there are three Copies of Verses written in the Year 1708, two of them are Pieces of Wit and Raillery against Sir JOHN VANBRUG; and the third is *The Tale of BAUCIS and PHILEMON*, wherein there

there is not only Abundance of Wit and Pleasantry, but some peculiar happy Strokes, which although but very rarely to be found in the Works of the finest Authors, are the distinguishing Marks of an improved consummate Genius. The Reader of Taste and Learning cannot but observe how exactly the Sound doth echo to the Sense in the following Lines:

They scarce had spoke, when fair and soft,
The Roof began to mount aloft;
Aloft rose ev'ry Beam and Rafter;
The heavy Wall climb'd slowly after.

AND yet, if possible, even these Lines are excelled by the following Diffich:

The groaning Chair was seen to crawl,
Like an huge Snail, half up the Wall.

WERE it of any Consequence to the World, I could produce many Examples from HOMER, PINDAR, VIRGIL, HORACE, SHAKESPEARE, and MILTON, which for the same Reason, are universally admired above all other Passages in those sublime Poets; but half a Word is sufficient upon these Occasions.

We find, however, in one of his Letters,
A Monsieur Monsieur HUNTER *, *Gentil-*
homme

* Colonel HUNTER, Governor of *Virginia*, who had been taken Prisoner by the *French*.
Vid. BAT. Edit. Vol. 14. p. 116.

homme Anglois, à Paris, that in the Year 1708, he “amused himself sometimes with writing Verses to MR. FINCH” [none of which, I presume, were ever yet published] “and sometimes with Projects for uniting of Parties, which he perfected over Night, and burnt in the Morning.”

IN the Year 1709, we have but two Pieces of DR. SWIFT’S, one in Verse and the other in Prose, that in Verse is entitled *A famous Prediction of MERLIN, the British Wizard, written above a Thousand Years ago, and relating to the Year 1709*. In his Preface to this Poem he would insinuate, that what he publishes to the World is a Translation of MERLIN’S Prophecy, two hundred Years old. The main Design of the Doctor in this Prediction, if he was really in earnest (which I verily believe he was not, as I am persuaded that he only writ this Prophecy in order to vex the *Whigs*, and to fret that ungrateful Ministry which had forgotten the Obligations he had conferred upon them, a Circumstance in the Doctor’s Life, which I shall have occasion to remark particularly in some other Place) was to encourage QUEEN ANNE to a second Marriage, in order that HER MAJESTY might repair, if possible, that infinite Loss she had sustained by the Death of the Duke of GLOUCESTER, who by all Accounts was one of the finest Princes that ever was born

in *England*, and accordingly was universally regretted by the whole Nation, the fanatical Party and all their black Adherents only excepted. The following Lines make that Point incontestable.

Hongre SYMNELE shall again miscarry :
And Norway's Pryd * again shall marry.
And from the Trees where Blossoms fele,
Ripe Fruit shall come, and all is wele.

AND without Dispute, as in *England* there were many Thousands who were desirous to see a Prince descended from a Queen, whom they loved with such Ardor and Affection; so in the Wildness of their Imagination, they endeavoured to persuade HER MAJESTY at the Age of about Forty-five, to marry a second Time. But whether it was owing to that excessive Regard which she bore unto the Memory of her Beloved, the Prince of DENMARK; or whether it was because she never had a Child after the Age of Five or Six and Twenty; or whether it was for some political Reason or other, she refused in this Respect to gratify the Inclinations of her People; which, however, as Animosities and Factions were then rising to an excessive

* Queen ANNE is called *Norway's* PRYD, because she had vouchsafed to marry the Prince of *Denmark*; and we all know that *Norway* is Part of the Dominion belonging to that Crown.

cessive Height, she had Cause to repent of before the Time of her Decease. For as the Queen was driven to such inexpressible Streights, by the Fury and Machinations of the contending Parties, that with all her Experience in Government, she knew not whom to trust; if she had married some wise and thoughtful Prince, intirely remote from all Pretensions to the Crown, supposing that such an one could have been found in *Europe* at that Time, she might have passed the Remainder of her Life with more Ease and Tranquillity. For as a Prince in that Situation would have had nothing more to do, than to have made the Queen happy, and her Reign glorious, he might have acted as Moderator between both Parties, secured unto himself the Esteem of all the Wise and Virtuous, and perhaps after the Decease of the Queen, might have been highly regarded by her Successor, during the Remainder of his Life. But alas! party Rage carried all before it, and every Scheme of Accommodation was equally rejected by *Whigs* and *Tories*.

IN his *Project for the Advancement of Religion, and the Reformation of Manners*, DR. SWIFT appears in the Character of a great inspired Prophet. *He crieth aloud, he spareth not, he lifteth up his Voice like a Trumpet* *; he rebuketh all Ranks of Men for

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their

* *Isai. viii. 1.*

their Depravities and Corruptions, their Profaneness, their Blasphemy and Irreligion. His Discourse he addresseth unto his Sovereign, and beyond all Contradiction proveth it to be an important Duty incumbent on all Princes, to encourage and to enforce Morals and Religion, by exerting their utmost Authority. He then applieth himself to the Legislature, conjuring them to forward so noble a Design, and to provide Remedies against that Torrent of Iniquity, which if not vigorously opposed, would certainly increase, and never stop in its Career, until it subverted the Constitution. And finally, he declares in the prophetick Style and Spirit, that a Reformation of Manners, and turning unto GOD, are the best natural as well as religious Means, to bring the War to an happy Conclusion.

THERE is one Paragraph towards the Close of this famous Tract, which because it abounds with that Life and Spirit so remarkable in the Writings and Conversation of DR. SWIFT, and especially because it is levelled directly against that Virulence of Party which prevailed in the Year 1709, deserves to be recorded in Letters of Gold. But let us observe and keep in Remembrance, what we are told by that sagacious Inspector into the Lives and Characters of Men. "It must be confessed that as Things
" now stand (saith the Doctor) every Man
" thinks

“ thinks he hath laid in a sufficient Stock
 “ of Merit, and may pretend to any Em-
 “ ployment, provided he hath been loud
 “ and frequent in declaring himself hearty
 “ for the Government. It is true, he is a
 “ *Man of Pleasure* and a *Freethinker*; that
 “ is in other Words, he is profligate in his
 “ Morals, and a despiser of Religion; but
 “ in Point of Party, he is one to be *confi-*
 “ *ded* in, he is an Asserter of Liberty and
 “ Property, he rattles it out” [*Metbinks I*
both hear and see the Doctor speaking this very
Moment] “ against *Popery*, and *arbitrary*
 “ *Power*, and *Priestcraft* and *High-Church*.
 “ It is enough: He is a Person fully qualifi-
 “ ed for any Employment in the Court, or
 “ the Navy, the Law, or the Revenue,
 “ where he will be sure to leave no Arts
 “ untried of Bribery, Fraud, Injustice, Op-
 “ pression, that he can practice with any
 “ Hope of Impunity. No Wonder such
 “ Men are true to a Government where Li-
 “ berty runs high, where Property, *howe-*
 “ *ver attained*, is so well secured, and
 “ where the Administration is at least so
 “ gentle: It is impossible they could chuse
 “ any other Constitution without changing
 “ to their Loss:”

AND for the immortal Honour of DR.
 SWIFT, I shall beg Leave to insert that fa-
 mous Paragraph which is known to have
 given the first Hint to certain Bishops, par-

particularly to that most excellent Prelate Bishop ATTERBURY, in the Earl of OXFORD's Ministry, to procure a Fund for building fifty new Churches in LONDON. His Words are these: " I shall mention but one more
 " Particular, which I think a Parliament
 " ought to take under Consideration: Whether it be not a Shame to our Country,
 " and a Scandal to Christianity, that in many Towns where there is a prodigious
 " Increase in the Number of Houses and
 " Inhabitants, so little Care should be taken
 " for the building of Churches, that five
 " Parts in six of the People are absolutely
 " hindered from hearing Divine Service?
 " Particularly here in *London*, where a single Minister, with one or two sorry Curates, has the Care sometimes of above
 " twenty Thousand Souls incumbent on
 " him. A neglect of Religion so ignominious, in my Opinion, that it cannot be
 " equalled in any civilized Age or Country."

IN the Year 1710, before he had commenced an Acquaintance with the Earl of OXFORD or any of the *Tory* Ministry, he writ three *Tatlers*, all of them very curious in their Way, and adapted to the general Good of Society; and besides these Papers he writ that whimsical Poem *On the Vicar's little Country House by the Church-Yard of Castleknock*, and *The Description of the Morning*,

ing, so universally admired by all Persons of Taste and Judgment, the first Line of which, and the last Distich, are exquisitely fine.

HAVING in this Chapter endeavoured to point out in what Manner the Doctor employed his Talents, whether to please or to instruct the Publick, from the Death of King WILLIAM, until he came acquainted with the Earl of OXFORD in the Year 1710, a Period very remarkable in the Life of DR. SWIFT; I shall conclude this Part of my Account, and try whether I can do him any Sort of Justice in his political Capacity, which I presume will take up the greater Part of the following Chapters.

C H A P. VIII.

DR. SWIFT'S Acquaintance with the Earl of OXFORD, commenced upon an Occasion greatly to his Honour*. He was empowered by his Grace the Lord Primate of IRELAND†, and by the Archbishop of DUBLIN‡, to solicit the Affair of *the first Fruits and twentieth Parts*, in Be-

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half

* Vid. the Correspondence between the Archbishop of DUBLIN and DR. SWIFT, in the 8th Volume of his Works.

† DR. NARCISSUS MARSH, ‡ DR. WILLIAM KING.

half of the *Clergy of Ireland*, which in the Space of five or six Weeks, he dispatched with so much Wisdom and Address, that every Thing was concluded to the intire Satisfaction of the *Bishops and Clergy*. And yet (*credite Posteris*) many of that individual Race of *Clergy*, for whose Benefit alone, without any Imagination of Interest for himself, the Doctor had so effectually exerted his Credit with the Ministry, and who upon that Account *should*, as the Archbishop of *Dublin* very justly remarks, *have been his fastest Friends*, were utterly averse, so immediately after as the Year 1716, from acknowledging the Service he had done in procuring for them *the twentieth Parts and the first Fruits*; neither could the ARCHBISHOP himself escape the Censure and the Obloquy of their *evil Tongues*, because he had exerted some Degree of Zeal in bearing Testimony to the Truth, and doing Justice to the Doctor in that *Particular*. “ But
 “ Ingratitude, saith his Grace of DUBLIN,
 “ is warranted by modern and antient Custom: And it is more Honor for a Man
 “ to have it asked, why he had not a *suitable Return* to his *Merits*, than why he
 “ was over-pay’d? *Benefacere & male audire* is the Lot of the best Men.”

HOWEVER indeed, there are some very material Points relative to the Doctor, and which upon the Face of Things, appear to have

have been greatly to his Honor, wherein I cannot possibly give the Publick any tolerable Satisfaction. But since the Doctor is universally allowed to have been a Man of as great Veracity as ever lived upon Earth, we may venture, I believe, to rely upon his own Testimony, although it should happen to declare in Favour of himself. His Words are these, in his Letter to the Archbishop of DUBLIN: "As soon as I received the
 " Pacquets from your Grace, I went to wait
 " upon MR. HARLEY. I had prepared
 " him before by another Hand where he
 " was very intimate; and got myself presented (which I might justly do) as one
 " extreamly ill used by the last Ministry *,
 " after some Obligations, because I had refused to go certain Lengths they would
 " have me." We cannot but observe in this Passage, that DR. SWIFT had conferred some Obligations upon the last Ministry, that he had refused to go certain Lengths they would have him, and upon that Score had met with extream ill Usage at their Hands. Now what Obligations these were, what Lengths that Ministry wanted to have him go, or what extream ill Usage he had met with for his Non-compliance, doth by no Means appear, as far as I can recollect,
 from

* The same Thoughts occur in the *Examiner*, No. 26. p. 175.

from any Part of his Writings. I have chosen rather to confess my Ignorance with Regard to these Matters, than to pass them over in Silence, being in Hopes that upon throwing out these scattered Hints, I shall have the Pleasure one Time or other to see them cleared up by some Friend of DR. SWIFT, who is better acquainted than I am with the Anecdotes of his Life, at that particular Period. Nevertheless, I cannot but observe, that ARISTIDES and PERICLES ought to have been grateful to the Author of that *Discourse concerning the Contests and Dissensions, &c.* were it for no other Reason than because in that Apology, he had laboured with such an Abundance of Skill and Learning, to abate that Resentment of the House of COMMONS and of the PEOPLE in general, which began to break out so furiously against them, in the latter Part of King WILLIAM'S Time. Moreover, I shall presume, that upon their founding the political Principles of DR. SWIFT, they found he was a Man so firmly attached to all and every of those Maxims which alone can support the Vigour of the Constitution, both in Church and State, that he was not to be corrupted so far as to comply with their Purposes, whether to gratify the insatiable Desires of the *Dutch*, the unreasonable Expectations of the *Emperor*, or indeed the Avarice and Ambition of any particular Persons;

sons; neither would he sacrifice the Honor, the Glory, and the Wealth of *England*, merely for the Sake of enriching a Parcel of *Sharppers* and *Stock-Jobbers*, whether at Home or Abroad. And accordingly we find, that from the Year 1701 to the Year 1708, he writ no political Tract whatsoever. But in the Year 1708, when the *Fanaticks* began to prick up their Ears, and to muster up all their Forces, the Doctor began to write vigorously in Defence of the Constitution. And without Dispute *The Letter from a Member of the House of COMMONS in Ireland, to a Member of the House of COMMONS in England, concerning the sacramental Test: The Sentiments of a Church of England Man, &c.* and, *The Argument against abolishing Christianity*, were covertly designed, although not directly pointed against the ADMINISTRATION. However, in these Papers there is, I think, nothing immediately Satyrick on the Chief among those Persons who were entrusted with Affairs, nothing which appears to be inconsistent with Friendship, notwithstanding that in the Course of his Reasoning, he hath given many a Lash to their *Abettors*, their *under Strappers*, their *Flatterers*, and their *Mignons*. < For my Part, I am inclined to believe, that he smothered his Indignation, and reserved the Power of his Abilities until better Times, knowing that if a Change should

should happen in the Ministry, he could at once avenge both himself and his Country upon the whole Faction. And the World I suppose will acknowledge, that he has not died much in their Debt. For, as soon as the old Ministry were discarded, to the Satisfaction and the Joy of all those who had any Regard for the Welfare of the Publick, and the Constitution of *England*; the Doctor embracing the Opportunity, closed in immediately with the *Tories*;

AND now the publick Int'rest to support,
By HARLEY, SWIFT invited comes to Court.
In Favour grows with Ministers of State;
Admitted private, when Superiors wait:
And HARLEY, not ashamed his Choice to
own,

Takes him to *Windsor* in his Coach, alone.
At *Windsor* SWIFT no sooner can appear,
But ST. JOHN comes, and whispers in his Ear;
The Waiters stand in Ranks; the Yeomen cry
Make room; as if a Duke were passing by.

Vid. Sw. Vol. 2. p. 130.

AND accordingly, without losing Time,
he commenced their Champion, so early as
the Month of *November* 1710*, under the
Title

* For the Use and Benefit of those who are not
acquainted with the Course of the Doctor's Pol-
ticks, during the latter Part of the Queen's Reign,
I have

Title of *The Whiggish Examiner*†. Beside which he writ several other Papers in Defence of the Queen, the Constitution, and the Ministry; particularly *Some Advice to the Members of the October Club*‡: *The Conduct of the Allies*||: *Remarks on the Barrier Treaty*§: *The publick Spirit of the Whigs*¶: (a Treatise wherein we may observe how well the Doctor was acquainted with the several Interests and Designs of all the Princes in Europe) *The Preface to the Bishop of SARUM's Introduction**; and that Piece entitled *Some free Thoughts upon the present State of Affairs*|||: These are a Course of Writings not to be considered in the Light of *occasional Pamphlets*, or little paultry *Journals*, thrown into the World by some *hackney Jade* in the Defence of CORRUPTION, and to serve the iniquitous Designs of a Party. No; these Writings are to be considered, and read over and over again, as Lectures of true unprejudiced constitutional Politicks, calculated to expose the Enemies of the Publick, and to maintain at once the Honor

I have mentioned the several Tracts in that Order wherein, to the best of my Judgment, they ought to have been ranged in his Works.

† Vol. 5. p. 15.

‡ Vol. 6. p. 119.

|| Vol. 5. p. 1.

§ Vol. 6. p. 345.

¶ Vol. 2. p. 1.

* Vol. 6. p. 503.

||| Vol. 7. p. 303.

nor of the CROWN, and the Liberties of the PEOPLE of *England*. I cannot but think, whoever is totally unacquainted with these political Tracts, might be tempted to revise them carefully, were it only for the Sake of extracting some Points of History, which to many Thousands of the present Age, are somewhat more than Paradoxes. I should be glad that any of those Gentlemen who deliver their Opinions so freely, and so peremptorily, upon all Questions relating to the Affairs of *England* for these last hundred and twenty Years, would please to resolve the following Queries:

Query 1st, IF the TORIES held the *divine Right* of Kings, *passive Obedience*, and *Non-resistance*, in the Manner it was charged upon them by the WHIGS; [Vid. Examiner, No. 33.] who were those, and those ONLY, who brought in, or *could* have brought in King WILLIAM?

Query 2d, WHO were those who were the greatest Sticklers against the exorbitant Power of King JAMES?

Query 3d, WHO were those who to gratify their Ambition and Revenge did, by the meanest Compliances, encourage and spirit up that unfortunate Prince, *who* (as it was said contemptuously enough, by one of the Cardinals at the Court of *St. Germans*) *lost his three Kingdoms for a Mass*,
to

to fall upon such Measures as must at last have ended in the Ruin of our LIBERTY and RELIGION?

Query 4th, WHO were those, who by their numerous and fulsome Addresses to King JAMES, approved of all his Proceedings, and took Employments and Commissions under him, by Virtue of the dispensing Power, against the direct Laws of the Land?

Query 5th, WHO were those that a Year or two after the Revolution, had their Pardons sent them by King JAMES, and had entered upon Measures to restore him, upon Account of some Disobligations they had received from King WILLIAM?

Query 6th, WHO were those who in the Reign of Queen ANNE tampered with the PRETENDER?

Query 7th, IN what Manner were the *English* treated by the Allies?

Query 8th, WHETHER or no was it thought a Piece of Insolence in the *English*, to pursue their Conquests in the *Spanish West-Indies*?

Query 9th, IF Queen ANNE's old Ministry had continued in Power, how long would it have been before they would have consented to a Peace? or what Terms of Peace would they have insisted upon?

Query 10th, WHEN the *English* became Masters of a Town in *Flanders*, how was it disposed

disposed of? or what Recompence had they for all their Blood and Treasure?

Query 11th, UPON the Acquisition of a Town in *Flanders*, which cost six Millions, what Advantage had the PEOPLE of *England* beside the Pleasure of making Bonfires?

Query 12th, How many Years longer might ENGLAND have been able to carry on the War, and to pursue her Victories in *Flanders*?

Query 13th, WHO were the Gainers by the War, and who were at the Expence of it?

Query 14th, WHETHER the HOLLANDERS were made Dupes by the ENGLISH; or the ENGLISH by the HOLLANDERS?

Query 15th, UPON the Demise of the Emperor JOSEPH, which of the Powers in the grand Alliance first determined that the *Empire* and *Spain* should not be united?

Query 16th, WHICH of the Confederate Powers in the grand Alliance, threatened first to enter into separate Measures of a Peace?

Query 17th, WHO were those that framed *The Act of Settlement*?

Query 18th, WHO were the best Friends and Supporters of *The Act of Settlement*?

Query 19th, WHAT Advances were made by the QUEEN? what Advances were made

made by the TORY MINISTRY? or what Advances were made by that PARLIAMENT, which expressed and manifested their Desires of a Peace, to bring in the PRETENDER?

Query 20th, How many more than one in five Thousand of the Church of *England* throwing NON-JURORS out of the Question, were in the latter Part of the Queen's Reign in the Interst of the PRETENDER?

Query 21st, Who were the Ancestors of those Families which have grown up since the Revolution?

Query 22d, Who were those who affected to discover a Contempt for *Birth, Families, and antient Nobility*?

Query 23d, BY what Means, and by what Instruments, did CROMWELL rise to be the TYRANT of *England*, under the specious Title of PROTECTOR?

Query 24th, WHAT Extent or Degree of *Toleration* was, in the Year 1710, allowed by the HIGH-KIRK of *Scotland* to those who are called EPISCOPALS?

BUT these and fifty other Queries of the like Nature, every Man can solve without the least Difficulty, that is conversant in the Politicks of Dr. SWIFT. And therefore I presume it will be readily granted, that whoever pretends to write the History of

the Queen's Reign, without revising diligently the Works of this great Author, will produce nothing better than some lame, partial, insignificant, Grub-Street Performance, like the rest of those vile Accounts which have already, in Defiance of Truth, been imposed upon the World. I am sure the present Generation of Men, that is, the present Generation of *landed Men*, who are in Fact the only Proprietors of the whole Kingdom, feel it to their Cost, that SWIFT's Reasonings are just, and that all his Accounts are true*.

BUT what Reward, what Recompence, or what Dignities were conferred upon this heroick Champion of the Ministry, this HERCULEAN Defender of the Constitution, for all his Labours? Why to be sure he was invited to be of the Cabinet Council, he had

* The several Poems of DR. SWIFT relative to these Times, and which in Truth greatly illustrate his political Tracts, ought to be read in the following Order: *The Virtue's of SID HAMET the Magician's Rod*, Vol. 2. p. 35. *The Fable of MIDAS*, Vol. 2. p. 74. *ATLAS, or the Minister of State*, Vol. p. 38. HORACE, Ep. 7. Book 1. *imitated and addressed to the Earl of OXFORD*, Vol. 2, p. 78. HORACE Sat. 6. Book 1. *Part if it imitated*, Vol. 2. p. 86. *The Author on himself*, Vol. 2. p. 129. *The Faggot*, Vol. 2. p. 77. *To the Earl of OXFORD, late Lord Treasurer. Sent to him when he was in the Tower, before his Trial*, Vol. 2. p. 135.

had some Part in the Administration of Affairs committed to his Care, he was raised in the Church even to the highest Pinnacle of Honour that he could possibly arrive at, without having others knocked on the Head to make room for his Preferment: Quite the contrary; that very Ministry whose Battles he had fought with so much Vigour and Success, never once exerted their Interest to get him any Sort of Promotion either in Church or State. Perhaps dreading those amazing Abilities, which had been their chief Support, they were not desirous that he should be raised to an *English* Bishoprick, which would have entitled him to a Seat in the *House of Lords*, where it is not impossible that his Talents might have shone forth in a Blaze of Politics, that would have rendered him as much the *Idol* of the Publick as the Wonder of all his Contemporaries; and therefore in the Abundance of their Sagacity they banished him into *Ireland*, and gave him the Deanery of ST. PATRICK, *Dublin*, which, as he himself expresseth it, was the only small Favour that he had ever received at their Hands. I know it hath been said and thought by many, that the Earl of OXFORD and the Lord BOLINGBROKE were his Patrons. But if I know the meaning of the Word *Patron*, as I think I do, I cannot but assert it as a Truth beyond all Question,

that Dr. SWIFT never had any Patrons at all, or at least if he had, that his Obligations to them were invisible. Nay, I have heard the Doctor affirm, that he never was obliged to any Man in his whole Life, meaning, undoubtedly, that he never had gotten any Preferment in the Church by the Interest of his Friends, which his own particular Merit had not paid for over and over. Nevertheless, if the Word *Patron* must be used upon these Occasions, as I think it may, I will stake my Reputation against the Judgment of any Critick in *Europe*, or in other Words, I will hold fifty Guineas to one, that Dr. SWIFT was more a Patron to the MINISTRY, than any of the MINISTRY were Patrons to Dr. SWIFT; which is a Point so manifest to all that are acquainted with his political Writings, that I think it would be needless to insist upon any particular Proofs of it.

HOWEVER, indeed, the Acquaintance of Dr. SWIFT with the Earl of OXFORD hath occasioned many various Conjectures and Speculations. It was supposed in the Reign of Queen ANNE, that he was engaged more deeply in Affairs of State, than perhaps there ever was any Reason to imagine, and accordingly there were several Speeches made against him both in the House of LORDS and COMMONS;

Now

Now FINCH alarms the Lords; he hears for certain,

This dang'rous Priest has got behind the Curtain:

FINCH, fam'd for tedious Elocution, proves
That SWIFT oils many a Spring that HAR-
LEY moves.

WALPOLE and AYSLABY, to clear the Doubt,
Inform the Commons, that the Secret's out.

" A *certain* Doctor is observ'd of late,

" To haunt a certain Minister of State:

" From whence with half an Eye we may
discover,

" The Peace is made, and PERKIN must
come over,

Sw. Vol. 2. p. 131.

OTHERS are willing to suppose that
SWIFT had little or no Share in the Confi-
dence of the Earl of OXFORD. And with-
out Dispute, his Imitation of the fixth Sa-
tire of HORACE, Book 2d, seemeth to fa-
vour that Opinion, where he saith, talking
of their private Conversation

———All that passies *inter nos*,
Might be proclaim'd at *Charing-Cross*.

AND if I mistake not, this whole Piece,
to which I refer the curious, is an easy,
gentle Rebuke to the Earl, for his over and

above great Reserve unto his best Friends, as well as unto all others. This latter Opinion I have grounded upon the last three or four Distich of that Poem, where he saith in Effect, (taking the former Part of this Account, as well as the whole Character of the Earl of OXFORD into Consideration) that he would rather amuse himself with his Books in his own Retirement, than expend his Time and Labour in supporting a Minister so very dark and reserved. And now I think of it, the Poem called ATLAS, or *The Minister of State*, which was written a Year before, is a candid pretty Remonstrance against that incommunicative Temper of the Lord-Treasurer;

Suppose then ATLAS ne'er so wise,
Yet when the Weight of Kingdoms lies
Too long upon his single Shoulders,
Sink down he must or find Upholders.

I have been sometimes in Doubt, whether by ALCIDES in this Poem, the Doctor meaneth himself or my Lord BOLINGBROKE. But I think he must have been too polite, to have called so very great a Statesman as my Lord BOLINGBROKE, a *Minister of second Rate*, although his Compliment were immediately addressed to the Earl of OXFORD. And therefore I conclude

clude that none other but the Doctor himself is meant by ALCIDES.

BUT to say what Degree of political Intimacy Dr. SWIFT had with so reserved, so mysterious a Person as the Lord Treasurer, would certainly be to account for Secrets that never were divulged. The Doctor himself, who discovers in all his Writings an utter Contempt for deep Intrigue, Refinement in Politicks, and all the rest of what is generally called *the Arcana Imperii*, blameth the Earl with a good Deal of Freedom, for this Defect in his Behaviour towards the rest of the Ministry, as well as towards all others who had a Part in his Friendship*. I must therefore (saith the Doctor in that Piece which is entitled *Some free Thoughts upon the present State of Affairs*) take the Boldness to assert, “ that all
 “ these Discontents, how ruinous soever
 “ they may prove in their Consequences,
 “ have most unnecessarily arisen from the
 “ Want of a due *Communication* and *Con-*
 “ *cert*. Every Man must have a Light suf-
 “ ficient for the Length of the Way he is
 “ appointed to go: There is a Degree of
 “ Confidence due to all Stations, and a pet-
 “ ty Constable will neither act chearfully or
 “ wisely without that Share of it which
 “ properly belongs to him: Although the

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“ main

* Vid. pag. 14th of that Tract which is bound up as an *Appendix* to Vol. the 7th

“ main Spring of a Watch be out of Sight,
“ there is an intermediate Communication
“ between it and the smallest Wheel, or
“ else no useful Motion could be perform-
“ ed. This reserved mysterious Way of
“ acting upon all Points, where there ap-
“ peared not the least Occasion for it, and
“ towards Persons, who at least in Right of
“ their Posts, expected a more open Treat-
“ ment, was imputed to some hidden De-
“ sign, which every Man conjectured to be
“ the very Thing he was most afraid of.”
And again in the 16th Page; “ The Ef-
“ fects of this mystical Manner of Proceed-
“ ing, did not end here: For the late Dif-
“ fensions between the great Men at Court,
“ (which have been for some Time past
“ the Entertainment of every Coffee House)
“ are said to have arisen from the same
“ Fountain; while on one Side very great
“ Reserve, and certainly very great Resent-
“ ment on the other, if we may believe
“ general Report (for I pretend to know
“ no farther) have enflamed Animosities to
“ such an Height, as to make all Recon-
“ ciliation impracticable.” And therefore
to say *that* Dr. SWIFT *was employed, but not*
trusted, by the Earl of OXFORD (throwing
aside the Indecorum of the Expression) is
really nothing more than to say that the
Lord Treasurer would not communicate to
Dr. SWIFT, some two or three of his own
secret

secret Resolutions (whatever those were; for as yet, I think, no Man alive can make the least Conjecture to what Purpose they were intended) any more than he would to the rest of those great Persons employed by HER MAJESTY. However, it is not unlikely that Dr. SWIFT knew as much of the Earl of OXFORD's Mind, as any Man in *England*;

Next faithful Silence hath a sure Reward:
Within our Breast be ev'ry Secret barr'd:

Saith the Doctor in his Poem to the Earl of OXFORD, when his Lordship was confined in the Tower.

I CANNOT but observe in the current of these Remarks, that I have frequently heard the Doctor say with a good deal of Warmth, that a certain very sublime Person was more obliged to the Earl of OXFORD than to any ten Thousand Men in *England*: But further I think he never explained himself. In short, Reserve and Procrastination, if indeed the latter was not more affected than real, were the notorious Defects of that otherwise highly accomplished Person. And yet after all that can be said with Regard to the Earl of OXFORD's political Friendship with Dr. SWIFT, whoever is inclined to search more curiously into these Anecdotes, may certainly collect more from his several Tracts and Poems

ems addressed to the Earl, than can easily be reduced within the Bounds of a Criticism. Every Man therefore is at Liberty to form his own Conjectures.

HOWEVER indeed, there are some little Gratifications in the Commerce of Friendship, which appear to be as strong, if not stronger Indications of our Love and Esteem for particular Persons, than what is called raising them in the *Grand Monde*, whether to Honours or Preferment. Of this Nature I take some Presents to have been which were made by the Earl to the Doctor, particularly his own Picture enamelled by ZINCK, the Seal of JULIUS CÆSAR, and especially the Seal of the young HERCULES, which were both given to the Earl by his royal Mistress, and afterwards by the Earl presented to the Doctor; alluding perhaps in the Present of the young HERCULES to the Character of ALCIDES in the Poem called *Atlas*, the Earl being conscious to himself how much the Doctor had supported the Constitution, the Queen, and the Ministry. But what I think shewed more Kindness and Affection than any of the former, was the Present of that Penknife wherewith the Earl himself had been stabbed by GUISSARD. I have seen the Penknife several Times; it was a common ordinary Penknife with a Tortoise-Shell Handle; and when it was shut, was just about the Length of a
Man's

Man's little Finger. But as the Blade was broken within Half an Inch of the Handle, by the Violence of the Blow against one of the Ribs of the Earl, the Doctor had a Hole drilled through that Part of the Blade which was broken off, and another Hole through that Piece which remained in the Handle, and by that Contrivance they were both held together by a little Silver Chain.

HAVING mentioned somewhere in this Chapter the Procrastination of the Earl of OXFORD, it puts me in Mind of an Accident which happened in those Times. Colonel HILL (a Gentleman of Worth, who had commanded with great Bravery in the Battle of *Almanza*) soon after his Promotion to a Regiment, having made Dr. SWIFT a Present of a beautiful Tortoise-Shell Snuff-Box, richly lined with Gold, with the Prospect of the Rialto of *Venice*, several Gondalos plying on the Canals, and other Figures to the Number of I believe a Hundred and Fifty, representing the Pleasures of a Carnival painted on the inside of the Lid; the Doctor shewed it to the Earl at their next Meeting. The Earl having admired the Painting and the Workmanship, spied at last a Figure studded on the Outside of the Bottom of the Box, somewhat resembling a Goose: Whereupon, turning to the Doctor, JONATHAN, said he, *the Colonel, I think, has made a Goose of you.* Yes, my Lord, replied

plied the Doctor, *but if you will look farther, you will see I am driving a Snail before me* : (Which really happened to be exactly the Device) *That is severe enough*, JONATHAN, said the Earl, *but I deserved it*. Such was the Freedom of the Doctor's Conversation with the greatest Personages in the whole Kingdom.

BUT to avoid being accused of passing over Tracts that deserve our Attention, we must not forget to observe that Dr. SWIFT in the Beginning of the Year 1712, writ a Proposal for correcting, improving, and ascertaining the *English Tongue*, in a Letter to the Earl of OXFORD. In this Epistle the Doctor complains to his Lordship as *first Minister*, in the Name of all the learned and polite Persons of the Nation, that our Language is extreamly imperfect, that its daily Improvements are by no Means equal to its daily Corruptions, that the Pretenders to polish and refine it have chiefly multiplied Abuses and Absurdities, and that in many Instances it offends against every Part of Grammar. He proves with irresistible Force of Reason, that our Language ought to be refined to a certain Standard, and then fixed for ever : He remarks the several Inconveniencies which arise perpetually from our stupid Inattention to these Matters. He doth not however prescribe any Methods for ascertaining the Language, but throws out
some

some general Observations, leaving the rest to the Inspection of that Society, which he hoped would have been speedily instituted by the Lord Treasurer. But this Scheme fell to the Ground, partly by the Diffensions among the great Men at Court, and chiefly by the lamented Death of Queen ANNE, that ever-glorious Princess.

BUT since the *Author of the Remarks* on Dr. SWIFT hath been somewhat copious in his Observations upon this Letter, we shall examine the Merits of his Critique on this Article, because it is supposed to contain somewhat extreamly curious, and out of the common Road.

IT is the Opinion of this great Philologer that Dr. SWIFT's Letter to the Earl of OXFORD *might have been a useful Performance if it had been longer, and less eclipsed by Compliments to the noble Person to whom it is addressed.* Now this Letter to the Earl of OXFORD contains twenty Pages in Octavo, closely printed, and sufficiently answers the whole Purpose for which it seems to have been intended. If Praises in Abundance be addressed to the Earl in this Epistle, it is certain that such Kind of Incense could never have been offered at a more seasonable Juncture, as the chief Intent of those Compliments was to stimulate the Earl (a Man very desirous of true Glory) to expedite a
Scheme

Scheme which in its Consequences might have given his Reputation some Chance for Immortality. But in what Manner the Proposal for correcting the *English Tongue* is eclipsed by the Doctor's Compliments to the Lord Treasurer, it is not easy to observe, as the Necessity which appears for ascertaining our Language, and fixing it for ever, is clear and manifest ; whether or no we divorce the Compliments from the Proposal, or suffer the Proposal and the Compliments, without interrupting their Repose, to jog on together as affectionately as they have done for these last forty Years. This Letter *seems* (continueth the *Author of the Remarks*) *to have been intended as a Preface to some more enlarged Design.* Unfortunately I cannot agree with him in this Particular, because a *Præface*, a *Prologue*, or a *Proœmium*, call it which you please, was never yet written by any Man of common Sense, nor perhaps by any one else, to a Book which even in the Brain of an Author had no Kind of Existence. And then immediately he subjoins in the very next Words, *at the Head of which such an Introduction must have appeared with great Propriety.* The Doctor's Letter in the preceding Line was transformed into a *Preface*, and by a *Giuco di Mano* as suddenly in the next metamorphosed into an *Introduction.* He cannot surely imagine that a Preface and an Introduction are synonymous

nymous Terms? I am sure if he does the Voice of Literature will be entirely against him. For a *Præface*, or *Proœmium* to a Book, is universally understood to be a præliminary Discourse, wholly detached from the Book itself: But an Introduction, like the two or three first Pages in the *Remarks*, to go no further, is an *Apparatus* to the main Design of an Author, and is in Fact the commencing ceremonious Part of the Book itself, which is appointed, like a Gentleman Usher, to bring the Author and his Reader acquainted. However, the Doctor's Letter cannot be called an Introduction, because it introduces to nothing. But suppose we should call it a Dedication, as we find in that Epistle a great Variety of Compliments and Praises addressed to the Earl of OXFORD? No, that I am afraid will not do either, because there is nothing dedicated, although Abundance recommended to the Lord Treasurer. And besides, it would be somewhat injurious to the Character of that great and publick-spirited Minister, that faithful Steward of the Finances, who endeavoured to retrieve his Country from the desperate Condition wherein he found it by the utmost Frugality, to call it a Dedication; because that would oblige us to conceive all the Compliments and Praises addressed to the Earl, to be nothing else but an Accumulation of Flattery, the very Incense of a Slave; and

and if not to be read backwards, like most other wretched Daubings in those paid-for neglected Panegyricks, to be of no more Value than a Bundle of waste Paper consigned to the Pastry Cook's. But if this Proposal for *correcting* and *ascertaining the English Tongue* must relinquish its old Title, and from henceforth never be called a *Letter* from Dr. SWIFT to the Earl of OXFORD; and if it cannot be styled with any Sort of Propriety either a *Preface*, an *Introduction*, or a *Dedication*, it will be requisite to give it some other distinguishing Appellation from the rest of his Works. Perhaps if it were called the *Pharos* or the *Beacon* of the *English Tongue*, such an Appellation might be received and approved as bearing at least some Analogy to the Intention of the Writer, since it appears that he has hung out a Number of Lights, as it were, from the Top of the *Monument*, to guide and direct us on our Voyage to Immortality.

BUT further, *we bewilder ourselves*, says the *Author of the Remarks*, [which certainly is our own Fault if we do] *in various Orthography*, (i. e. by Interpretation in the various *Science of writing correctly*) *we write, and we speak at random*. But what Class or Classes of Authors those are who bewilder themselves in what he calls *various Orthography*, is a Point somewhat difficult to resolve.

If

If in Truth he mean the whole Flight of *English* Authors both in Verse and Prose, I fancy there are great Numbers in *England*, which is a Nation abounding with learned Men, who would humbly desire to be excepted from the Multitude of those who adventure to spell at random without any Sort of Authority. However, it cannot be denied that particular Persons are extremely unfortunate in the Business of Orthography; neither is it reasonable to expect that it should ever be otherwise until such Time as Authors will please to confine their Ideas within the proper Limits of their respective Acquirements. And to go no further, the *Author of the Remarks* is undoubtedly a flaming Example into what wretched Scholiography Men are frequently betrayed, when they venture upon Languages *invita MINERVA*, which on the Revival of their Productions they do not seem to have the least Conception of, nothing being more easy than to observe, that in the Use of *Greek* Words he discovereth himself on many Occasions to have been greatly embarrassed. Those unlucky perplexing Diphthongs, which are far beyond the Reach of the most subtle Conjecture (not to mention *υψιλον*, [υ] that Finger-burning Vowel of the *Greeks* *) frequently

* It is a moot Point, take up what Author you will, the first Class of Writers only excepted,
N whether

quently bewilder him in his Orthography, and like an *ignis fatuus* lead him astray, I know not how far, out of the Paths of Etymology. A few Examples which are obvious to the most careless Observer, who is at all acquainted with the *Græcian* Poets and Philosophers, will confirm what I have asserted beyond a Thousand Arguments in the Way of Criticism. For Instance, to omit several others, MEGARA, TYSIPHONE, CHOLCOS, SYSIPHUS, PERITHOUS, DISTIC, SYNONIMOUS, SYBILS, ODYSSEY, EXCENTRIC, SOLECISM, METEMPSICHOSIS. But what Allowances ought in Reason to be made for such random Orthography in the Works of an *English* Critick, is a Point wholly submitted to the Judgment and Candor of the learned.

THE Church of *England* are also accused by this great Philologer of repeating the LORD'S Prayer in an ungrammatical Manner, because they say, "Our Father *which* art," &c. and not "Our Father *who* art, &c. The Point is a Trifle: However thus much in the Way of Argumentation may be urged in Favour of *which*; that our *English* Translators had no Regard to Sex, they referred merely to the ideal Antecedent, to the *τὸ Θεόν*,

or, whether you do not meet the Word *Pirate* as often as *Piræte*: and yet the Word is so easy, that a School-boy would deserve to be whipped for a Mistake in the Orthography.

or, as TACITUS calls the GOD of the Jews, *Summum illud & æternum neque mutabile, neque interiturum*; even to the Creator and Father of all Existences, which ~~is~~ ^{is} ~~error~~, properly speaking, is neither of the masculine nor of the feminine Gender, and consequently must in *English* be translated by some Word æquipollent to a neuter, and of Course *which* and not *who* will in that Case be the proper Relative to agree with its Antecedent. In like Manner we do not say, that heroick Army *who* beat the French at the Battle of Cressie; but that heroick Army *which* beat the French at the Battle of Cressie. Neither do we say, that Ghost or Phantom *who* appeared to an Officer of the Wardrobe at Windsor Castle *; but that Ghost or Phantom *which* appeared; &c. And what is very remarkable, ~~negation~~ a *Virgin*, and *Scortum a Bona Roba*, the one a Greek, and the other a Latin Word, are both of them neuters: And VIRGIL had somewhat a like Idea, when he writ *varium & mutabile semper fœmina*. So that even the Word *which* in the LORD's Prayer may be defended by Rules at least truly grammatical.

We are also told in this Part of the Remarks, that Rome by her Conquests made her *Dialect universal*. The Roman Legions, to be

* Vid. Lord CLARENDON, Vol. 1. Book 1. P. 42. Octavo Edition.

be sure, wherever they went, spoke in their own Dialect, and by Consequence the several Nations among whom they resided picked up several of their Words and Phrases; but still the *Roman* Language, although it prevailed in the *West*, and became almost the vulgar Dialect in *Spain* and *Gaul*, never obtained in *Greece*, in *Asia*, or *Africa*. Some few retired People of Fortune in those Regions might have studied the *Roman* Tongue out of meer Curiosity, or perhaps to qualify themselves for Employments, which was the Cause of bringing a great Number of foreign Pretenders to *Rome*: The *Greek* Tongue indeed was universal throughout the whole Empire, not excepting even the western Parts (where it must be confessed that it never flourished equal to what it did in *Asia* and *Africa*) and was preserved entire for many Ages after the *Greeks* themselves became Colonies to *Rome*, until they were totally over-run by the barbarous Nations upon the Fall of that Empire*. But if the *Roman* Dialect was universal, how came it to pass that among the *High Priests* and *Pharisees*, who were undoubtedly the most learned of all the Inhabitants of the *East*, there could not be found one single Man the Day after the Crucifixion† to address

* Vid. SWIFT's Proposal for ascertaining the *English* Tongue.

† Vid. Matt. xxvii. 62. ad finem.

dress himself in the Name of that learned Body unto PONTIUS PILATE in the *Roman Tongue*, especially as the Governor himself was far from being expert in the *Attick* Dialect? Perhaps it may be said, that we are not very sure in what Language the *Jews* addressed themselves unto PILATE, whether in *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Latin*, or *Syriack*; and that St. MATTHEW has only recorded the Sense, not the Words of their Conversation. But that Supposition will not hold; for PONTIUS PILATE, because he was addressed to by the *Jews* in the *Athenian* Tongue, was obliged, in order to make himself understood by the *Highb. Priests* and *Pharisees*, to return them an Answer as well as he could in excessive bad *Greek*, * *ἔχετε κρυδιαν*, &c. * which it is impossible should ever have crept into the original Text, if they had not been the Words of the *Prætor*. For * *ἔχετε κρυδιαν* † [*Vous avez la garde*] not * *ἔχετε κρυδιαν* [*Vous avez la watch*] was the common Dialect of the *Greeks* for expressing that Idea; neither would any Man upon Earth that was capable of writing *Greek* have expressed himself

* Matt. xxvii. 65.

† By translating these Words into *French*, and the following into *French* and *English*, we have endeavoured to give an Idea of the Barbarism to those who are unacquainted with the *Greek* Tongue.

himself otherwise. But, as *ἔχει κρυψίδα* were the Words of the Governor, they are recorded by St. MATTHEW; and for that single Reason *κρυψίδα* will in the Stead of *φυλακή* be to the End of the World a Sort of a *Greek* Term for a *Guard* or a *Watch*, as *πραιτώριον* in the Stead of *βασιλευσίων*, or rather of *δικαστήριον*, will for somewhat a like Reason continue to be *Greek* for a *Judgment-hall*. But what I think will set this Matter in a proper Light beyond all Possibility of Dispute is, that for the Space of a Hundred and Fourscore Years after the Birth of our SAVIOUR, how zealous and pure soever the Church of *Rome* was in those early Times, there never was written in the *Latin* Tongue one single Treatise in Favour of the *Christian* Religion. In the last twenty Years of the second Century we find APOLLONIUS, VICTOR, and the great TERTULLIAN, who are allowed by St. JEROME to have been the three first *Latin* Writers in the *Christian* Church. Neither can I recollect at present that there ever was from the Birth of ROMULUS until the Reign of COMMODUS, a Period of nine Hundred and Fifty Years, any one *Latin* Author whatsoever that was born and educated either in *Greece*, in *Asia*, or in *Africa*, TERENCE the Poet, who by an Accident was brought over a Slave from *Carthage* to *Rome*, only excepted. And yet perhaps there might have been some others: I only say.

say that if by Accident there were any such, I cannot recollect their Names at present, not that I believe there ever were any.

IN looking over this Part of the Critique on the above Letter from Dr. SWIFT to the Earl of OXFORD, one would imagine at first Sight that ARISTOTLE was introduced with a good deal of Humour, speaking in the Style of one of his own Commentators. For, saith the *Author of the Remarks*, *I entirely agree with ARISTOTLE, where he says in the Words of his Scholiast, Eum præclara et magna vix posse exequi et præstare, cui facultates desunt: quoniam per amicos et civilem potentiam veluti per instrumenta necesse est pleraque effici.* But unfortunately those are not the Words of any Scholiast [or Commentator] that ever writ upon the Works of ARISTOTLE. If the Critick had said, *I entirely agree with JUVENAL, where he says in the Words of his Scholiast, Eum præclara, &c.* there might have been some Humour in such an oblique Quotation from the *Stagirite*, for really the Scholiast on JUVENAL speaks directly in these very Terms [Vid. Delph. Edition Sat. 3. Ver. 164.] But in Fact these Words *Eum præclara, &c.* are as much the Words of ARISTOTLE himself, and not the Words of his Scholiast, as that saying, *Is it lawful for you to scourge a Man that is a Roman, and uncondemned *?* are the Words of St. PAUL,

N 4

and

* Acts xxii. 25.

and not the Words of his Scholiast; the former Quotation from the *Stagirite*, and the latter from the *Apostle*, being as much their own Words as the Words of a *Metaphrast* or *Translator*, (but not the Words of a *Scholiast* or *Commentator*) can with any Propriety be called the Words of an Author. There is a Lameness however in the above Quotation from ARISTOTLE, which perhaps the *Author of the Remarks* was not sufficiently aware of. The Passage in the original, which is introduced by an Assertion, *That before we can be said to have compleated our Felicity, we must enjoy the Possession of what are generally called the external good Things of this World*, runs in the following Terms; αἰνῶτον γὰρ, ἢ ἐξάδιον, τὰ καλὰ πράττειν, ἀχωρή-
 γητοι οἷα πολλαὶ μὲν γὰρ πράττειν, καθάπερ δι' ὀργάνων, καὶ διὰ φίλων,
 καὶ πλούτου καὶ πολιτικῆς δυνάμεως*. i. e. for it is impossi-
 ble, or at least no easy Matter, for any Man who has no Fortune, to perform great and splendid Actions; because indeed they are almost all performed by the Interest of Friends, by the Means of Riches, and by the Concurrence of the Civil Power, as by the Instruments whereby we are enabled to accomplish our Designs. But the Latin Translation, as above exhibited to us by the Author of the Remarks, as well as by the Scholiast on JUVENAL, is by the Carelessness of the Amanuensis (not by the Ignorance of the Metaphrast, be-
 cause

* ARISTOT. Ethic. Lib. 1. Cap. 9.

cause it is impossible that any Translator could have been guilty of such a Blunder) so imperfect in the main Article, upon which the whole Reasoning turns, that I am afraid a sagacious Reader will scarce allow it to be sterling good Sense, for Want of the Words *per Divitias* immediately after *per Amicos*. And yet after all, what has this Quotation to do, supposing it were compleat, with the Efforts of Genius?

I HAVE little further to object against the Remainder of his Critique, only that I shall for ever despair, although I entirely agree with JUVENAL, *Satur est, cum dicit HORATIUS, Euboë!* * to see the *English Tongue* refined to any certain approved Standard, by the Means of an Hospital for the Reception of Half-witted Poets, and other such miserable Pretenders to Wit and Learning, as I am afraid would be the first aspiring Candidates to get a Morsel of Bread in the *MUSES Charter-House*.

* Sat. 7. V. 62.

C H A P.

C H A P. IX.

A Patriot is a dang'rous Post
 When wanted by his Country most;
 Perversely comes in evil Times,
 Where Virtues are imputed Crimes.

TRAVULS, Part 1.

DR. SWIFT having immediately after the Queen's Death, come to reside in *Ireland*, quickly found that by the Sharpness of his Writings, he had made himself Obnoxious unto all the new Men who had been raised to Employments, as well as unto all others, who by their Clamour, and Execration of the Queen and her last Ministry, had either Vanity or Folly enough to imagine they had laid in a sufficient Stock of Merit, to qualify themselves for all Places, to which their Birth or Figure had given them any Sort of Pretensions; although it be certain, that not above twenty or thirty Individuals, out of fifty thousand Expectants, could reasonably hope to have been gratified with any Preferment in *Ireland*, worth above an hundred Pounds a Year: And perhaps there might have been twenty or thirty Employments somewhat above that Value, thrown out amongst them in those Times, just to save Appearances, and to keep up that Noise and Bellowing, which the

the Leaders of the Party on the other Side of the Water, encouraged to the uttermost. Among other delicate Strokes of Flattery to the Governours and Sub-Governours of the Kingdom of *Ireland*, an Abhorrence from Dr. SWIFT, his Writings and his Principles, was none of the least. The Doctor had been a Friend to the Queen's TORY Ministry, had written against the WHIGS, had been an Encourager of the Peace, a Defender of the Constitution, and loved the Memory of Queen ANNE. *Ergo*, he was an Enemy to the Revolution, an Abominator of King WILLIAM, a Friend to LOUIS the XIVth, a Jacobite and a Papist. Such was the Reasoning, and such were the Politicks of all those supple Gentry of *Ireland*, which had resigned their Understandings to be moulded by their Dictators in *England*. However some few, especially among those of a liberal Education, whose Taste for Wit and Learning, had inspired them with clear Ideas of the Doctor's Genius and Merit, having in themselves more Greatness of Mind than to hurry away precipitately down the Current of the Times, were neither afraid nor ashamed to caress him in the Face of the World; and as far as lay in their Power, attach themselves to his Acquaintance. But the Number of these disinterested Persons, even among the Learned, was, to the best of my Information, very inconsiderable,

siderable. For it is certain that many rejoiced over his Works in Secret, whose Prudence would not sacrifice all Hopes of their Preferment, whether in Church or State, to any Share in his Friendship. And consequently the Circle of SWIFT's Acquaintance, in Comparison of what it otherwise might have been, was extremely narrow and confined. Nevertheless, by one Means or other, that Groupe of Acquaintance, which, in the Year 1720, frequented the Deanery, sometimes in larger, and sometimes in smaller Parties, at least twice in the Week, upon his publick Days, were, even to my Remembrance, the most learned and polite that were to be met with at any one Place in the Kingdom of *Ireland*: Infomuch that, if I mistake not, there were at least eight or ten of his Intimates, who would have acquired Respect unto themselves for the Variety and the Excellence of their Learning, their Wit and their Accomplishments, at any Court in *Europe**,
And

* Perhaps it may be questioned, how any Man that is but Forty-seven Years old at this Time, could form a Judgment on the Characters of Men, four and thirty Years ago? To this I answer, that I knew many of their Persons, as well as their general Characters, in those Times; that I was afterwards acquainted, more or less, with several of them; and that as many of that choice

And beside these, many others of great Worth and Reputation, although perhaps not equal to those of the prime Class for Wit and Learning, had a Place in his Friendship. Moreover, his Character and Station as a Divine; the frequent Business of his Cathedral; the common Affairs of the World; added to that general Civility which is due from the greatest Personages unto all Ranks of Men, in their several Capacities and Degrees; threw him under some Kind of Necessity (which I presume would have been the Case of any the greatest Wit that ever lived upon Earth) to be acquainted in some Measure with Variety of other People, not easily to be distinguished on Account of their superior Merits, from the rest of the World. And accordingly, he generally spent his Time from Noon until he went to Bed, which I think was usually about Eleven of Clock, in the Pleasures of Conversation, among a Set of Companions either select or mixt: A Course of Life in which he continued for about thirteen Years, after the Change of Times, until the Decease of Mrs. JOHNSON, in the Year 1727. But when he lost that Companion, whose Genius he himself had been improving and cultivating, for at least five and twenty Years, he

choice Groupe as remain alive unto this Day, are Persons of as high Reputation as any in the whole Kingdom.

he could no longer endure those Pleasures and Amusements, which, on his publick Days, were conducted under the Eyes and Direction of his beloved *STELLA* with the greatest Elegance and Decorum. And accordingly, having sacrificed to her *MANES* these polite and rational Entertainments, he renounced his publick Days, and lived during the whole Remainder of his Life abundantly more retired.

HOWEVER, Dr. SWIFT although grieving to be separated from his *English* Friends, the greater Part of whom had been either disgraced or banished (a Fate which in all Revolutions of Parties, constantly attends the brave, the wise, the active and the faithful) could not endure to live retired upon his Deanery in *Ireland*, without indulging his Ideas in the Progress of Learning and Politicks; and accordingly in the Year 1715, he writ *An Account of the four last Years of Queen ANNE*, the Materials of which he had been gathering up, during the Reign of that most excellent Princess*; a Tract of History, which although confined within a very short Compass of Time, will, I presume, give entire Satisfaction whensoever it is published, to all unprejudiced Minds: And immediately afterwards he writ his famous

GULLIVER,

* I have seen what was originally designed for the Introduction to that History, dated October 1714.

GULLIVET, which alone might be thought sufficient to make his Reputation immortal. But as the Merits of that Work deserve a particular Enquiry, I shall wave the Examination of that Performance until another Opportunity; and proceed to acquaint you in what Manner he behaved himself in that Community, into which he had been ingrafted, fore against his Inclinations.

UPON his Arrival in *Ireland*, that Spirit which had been raised against him by the WHIGS in *England*, infatuated likewise the whole Populace of the City of *Dublin*, in-
 somuch that when he walked through the Town he was frequently pointed at, and abused by several of the meaner Shopkeepers, Mechanicks, and other base Fellows without Name or Occupation. These abominable Wretches, like their Brethren the YAHOOs, would oftentimes scrape the Kennels with their nasty Claws, to throw Dirt and Filth at him as he passed through the City; all which he bore for two or three Years; until the Brutes became tired of their Scurrility, not so much with a resigned philosophical Patience (which I believe no Body will assert to be in the Number of his Characteristicks) as indeed with that superior Contempt for all unworthy Demeanour, which is only to be conceived by the most improved and exalted Minds. But these Animosities having subsided for two
 or

or three Years, instead of rejoicing over the Miseries of that People, which had without Cause borne a tyrannous Hate against him, he began to look down with Pity on their distressed Condition: He regretted the Calamities of his Country, and the Absurdity of their Politicks; he deplored their Want of Commerce, and lamented all their Grievances. At last, in the Year 1720, he resolved as far as lay in his Power, to correct the Errors and the Blunders of his deluded Countrymen: And with that View, he writ a short and lively Proposal *for the universal Use of Irish Manufacture, in Cloaths and Furniture of Houses, &c. utterly rejecting and renouncing every Thing wearable that comes from England*; on Account of which a Prosecution was set on Foot against WATERS, the Printer of that Pamphlet, which was carried on with so much Violence, that one WILLIAM WHITSHEDE, then Chief Justice, thought proper, in a Manner the most extraordinary, to keep the Jury eleven Hours, and to send them back nine Times out of Court, until he had wearied them into a special Verdict. But WHITSHEDE, a Man of low Birth and narrow Education, whose whole Pittance of Learning was confined within the magick Circle of the Laws, the Doctrine of Precedents and Practice of the Courts, was by no Means aware by what unmerciful Strokes, a Patriot and Genius

nus like Dr. SWIFT, could avenge upon him the Cause both of himself and Country. WHITSHED, armed with Power, and sure to be supported in the virulent Days of Party, against all those which adhered unto their TORY Principles*, first gave the Alarm to Battle, by an Attack upon WATERS the Printer. SWIFT, armed with Genius, and fired with a Zeal for *Liberty* and *publick Interest*, flew directly to the Charge. But finding he had to deal with an Adversary unequal to the Combat, he contented himself for the present with giving him three or four Lashes, and making him thoroughly contemptible in the Eyes of the World†. But soon after, SWIFT had further Occasion for exerting all his Powers against

* The TORIES in *Ireland* are more hated by the whole Set of zealous WHIGS, than the very PAPISTS themselves; and in Effect as much unqualified for the smallest Office: Although both these Parties assert themselves to be of the same Religion, in all its Branches of Doctrine and Discipline; and profess the same Loyalty to the same Protestant King and his Heirs. *Vid. Presbyt. Plea of Merit, written in the Year 1732.*

† *Vid. An Excellent New Song on a seditious Pamphlet, Vol. 2. p. 126. Vid. SWIFT's Letter to Mr. POPE, dated January 10, 1721, wherein his true political Sentiments are occasionally revealed to his intimate Friend, without the least Disguise.*

against the unfortunate WHITSHED, as will appear in the Current of these miscellaneous Observations.

DR. SWIFT having retired from the political World, and amused himself for three or four Years with Poetry, Conversation, and Trifles, (which is perhaps the surest Test of a thorough consummate Genius, that is above all particular Systems and hypocritical Pretences to Philosophy) being alarmed in the Year 1724, with fresh Matter of Indignation to resume his Pen, boldly withstood the whole Force of an infamous Projector, encouraged and supported in his Villainy by those who were understood to be the chief Directors in all publick Affairs. The Project of this impudent Fellow was, by Virtue of a Patent which he had fraudulently obtained by the Interest of the then favourite CHRYSEIS, to coin Half-pence for *Ireland*, at about eleven Parts in Twelve under the real Value, and force their Currency in that Kingdom; which, notwithstanding his Patent, supposing that he had made his Half-pence ever so good, no Man living was obliged, or by Virtue of the Prerogative of the Crown could be obliged, to receive in any Payment whatsoever; nothing being in Truth the current Coin of *England* or *Ireland*, beside Gold and Silver of the right Sterling and Standard; the baser Metals being only accepted for the Convenience

venience of Change, which every Man that pleases may reject whenever he thinks proper, without being afraid to incur any Penalty from the Law. This whole Matter the Doctor laid open in a short Treatise with this remarkable and humorous Title, *A Letter to the Shop-keepers, Tradesmen, Farmers, and Common People of IRELAND, concerning the Brass Half-pence Coined by one WILLIAM WOOD, Hard-ware Man, with a Design to have them pass in this Kingdom: By M. B. Drapier.* A Letter, wherein the judicious Reader cannot but observe, that he hath adapted his Style, his Phrases, his Humour and his Address, in a very wonderful Manner to the Taste and Apprehension of the Populace: Neither indeed is the Title Page wholly void of that captivating Rhetorick, which is admired by the common People; for it concludes like that of *the Whole Duty of Man, Very proper to be kept in every Family.*

SHORTLY after he writ a Second, and a Third Letter, which were followed by several others, without confining his Style and Phrases to the Taste of the Multitude. But to criticise particularly on the several Merits of these political Tracts, would be to fight the Battle over again; and besides, would oblige me to recapitulate the History of those Times, which is blended sufficiently in the Body of the Work itself. I shall therefore

only observe upon the Whole, that although he talks of LIBERTY in a Strain highly becoming a warm and zealous Defender of the Rights of his Country, which he maintains with great Force of Law, Reason, Justice and Eloquence, he never once deviates in the whole Course of his Arguments from the distinguishing Characteristicks of the most loyal Subject, whatever might to the contrary have been supposed, by a few degenerate Slaves and Sycophants in those Days, even by that Sort of People who, as the wise Lord BACON expresses it, *would set a House on Fire* for the Convenience of roasting their own Eggs at the Flame.

HOWEVER indeed, such was the Iniquity of the Times, that a Reward of three Hundred Pounds was offered for the Author of the fourth Letter, chiefly because he had maintained therein the Liberty of his Country, and declared in very high Terms, worthy of a brave and resolute Mind, that he would continue firm and faithful to his Sovereign Lord the King, whatever Turn, in the Vicissitudes of this World, his MAJESTY'S Affairs might possibly take in other Parts of his Dominions.

I SHALL only remark upon this Doctrine, the contrary of which would, I think, have been High Treason, and against his Oath of Allegiance, that how much soever it was condemned in the Year 1724, by Slaves and Flatterers;

Flatterers; it was in the Year 1745 so universally established in the Minds of Men; that if there had been Occasion for the People of *Ireland* to have drawn the Sword in Defence of their Sovereign (which beside their Loyalty and Affection to HIS MAJESTY, they have many Reasons to thank GOD for that there was not) King GEORGE the Second would undoubtedly have been supported in his Right to the *Imperial Kingdom* of IRELAND, let his MAJESTY'S Affairs in other Parts of his Dominions have taken what Turn they might, by three hundred Thousand as brave *Militia*, as any to be found throughout all *Europe*; even, by the Grand-children of those Men so renowned for their valorous Atchievements, in the Days of WILLIAM the Third.

BUT to return from this Digression; as the Author of that fourth Letter could not be discovered, HARDING the Printer was indicted in the usual Forms, and brought to the *King's Bench*, to be tried before that WILLIAM WHITSHED, abovementioned. But the noble JURY, Friends to their Country and to the publick Interest, would not find the Bill. Whereupon the *Chief Justice* in a Rage dissolved the Jury; on Account of which he deserved to have been impeached by the HOUSE of COMMONS. Because the dissolving of a GRAND-JURY by any Judge before the End of the Term, Assizes, or

Sessions, while Matters are under their Consideration, and not presented, is arbitrary, illegal, destructive to publick Justice, a manifest Violation of his Oath, and is a Means to subvert the fundamental Laws of the Realm*. But as the HOUSE of COMMONS, for what Reasons GOD alone can tell, forbore to execute their Vengeance upon the *Chief Justice*: SWIFT seized upon him as a Prey, lashed him and worried him out of all his Patience, by many sarcastick Epigrams, Squibs, and other severe Reflexions upon his unworthy Demeanour†, until at last he became odious and ridiculous to the whole Kingdom; neither could his Death, which happened soon after, appease the Vengeance of the incensed Patriot. For SWIFT resolving to make him an Example to all future Ages, pursued him into the Regions of the Dead, and coupled him with ANYTUS, the Accuser of SOCRATES§. Such indeed was at last the Sacrifice that poor unfortunate

WHITSHED

* Vid. Resolutions of the HOUSE of COMMONS in *England*, November 13th, 1680.

† Vid. A Translation of WHITSHED's Motto to his Coach, and some Epigrams in SWIFT's Poems.

§ Vid. *A short View of the State of Ireland*, Vol. 4. p. 245. Vid. particularly, *An Answer to a Memorial*, Vol. 4. p. 259. Vid. also, *The Life and Character of Dr. SWIFT*.

WHITSHED became, unto the Resentments of Dr. SWIFT.

WHILE this Proclamation was in Force against the Doctor, there was but one Person (for his Intimates are not to be thought on upon such an Occasion) that could have informed against him, which was his own Butler who had transcribed the Paper. It happened that on the Day of the Proclamation, this Man went abroad in the Afternoon without Leave from his Master; stayed abroad the whole Night and the greater Part of the next Day; which greatly alarmed some Friends of the Doctor, as they could not but imagine that he had gone abroad on Purpose to receive the Reward of his Perfidy. However, the Man came Home; and contrary to the Advice of his Friends, the Doctor fell upon him with outrageous Severity, ordered him to strip off his Livery and get out of the House directly: You Villain, said the Doctor, I know I am in your Power, and for that single Reason I will the less bear with your Insolence or your Neglect: I suppose by this Time you are rewarded, or at least in a fair Way of being rewarded for your Treachery. The Servant, although he confessed that he had been drinking all Night, protested and swore to his Innocency, and begged to be confined a Prisoner in the House, so long as the Proclamation could entitle him to any

Reward for betraying his Master, lest Poverty or some other Temptation, might force him to an Action which his Soul abhorred. But all this had no Weight with his Master; neither could the most earnest Intreaties of the Doctor's Friends persuade him to give one Shilling towards the Support of his Servant, or even to see his Face until the Danger was over. But when the Time limited in the Proclamation had expired, the Butler returned to his Master, and lived with him for some Time in his former Station, until one Morning the Doctor suddenly commanded him to strip off his Livery and put on his own Cloaths. The Butler stared with Surprise, wondering for what Crime he had deserved to be turned out of his Place; which his Master observing, asked him if he had no Cloaths to put on? he told him he had. Then go your ways, said the Doctor, and as soon as you have thrown off your Livery and dressed yourself, come back to me again. The Butler having obeyed, and returned to his Master, the Doctor called up some other of his Servants, and ordered them to take Notice that ROBERT was no longer his Servant, that he was now Mr. BLAKELY the Verger of ST. PATRICK'S Cathedral, [a Place worth about 30*l.* a Year] which he had given him as a Reward of his Fidelity. ROBERT, however, would not quit his Master,

Master, but lived with him for some Years after, in the Station of a Butler.

HOWEVER, it happens that towards the Conclusion of one of these *Drapier's* Letters, Dr. SWIFT has paid so lively and delicate a Compliment to his Friend Mr. LINDSAY *, afterwards one of the Judges of the *Common Pleas* in Ireland; a Gentleman so remarkable for his Learning, Taste, Wit and Genius, that in all Probability he was one of the finest Spirits the Doctor was ever acquainted with in his whole Life; and at the same Time he has drawn up with Abundance of Wit and Humour such an apt Comparifon between WOOD and GOLIAH, that I cannot forbear to insert the Quotation at full Length, especially for the Entertainment of those who are unacquainted with these Matters.

“ I AM very sensible, that such a Work
 “ as I have undertaken, (saith Dr. SWIFT
 “ in the Character of M. B. *Drapier*) might
 “ have worthily employed a much better
 “ Pen. But when a House is attempted to
 “ be robbed, it often happens that the weak-
 “ est in the Family runs first to stop the
 “ Door. All the Assistance I had were
 “ some Informations from an eminent Per-
 “ son; whereof I am afraid I have spoiled a
 “ few

* This Gentleman, from a patriot Spirit, supplied Dr. SWIFT with all Materials relating to the Laws of the Land, which were necessary on this Occasion.

“ few by endeavouring to make them of a
 “ Piece with my own Productions; and
 “ the rest I was not able to manage: I was
 “ in the Case of DAVID, who *could not move*
 “ *in the Armour of SAUL* *; and therefore
 “ I rather chose to attack this *uncircumcised*
 “ *Philistine* (WOOD I mean) *with a Sling*
 “ *and a Stone.* And I may say for WOOD’s
 “ Honour as well as my own, that he re-
 “ sembles GOLIAH in many Circumstances
 “ very applicable to the present Purpose.
 “ For GOLIAH had a *Helmet of Brass upon*
 “ *his Head, and he was armed with a Coat of*
 “ *Mail, and the Weight of the Coat was five*
 “ *Thousand Shekels of Brass, and he had*
 “ *Greaves of Brass upon his Legs, and a Tar-*
 “ *get of Brass between his Shoulders.* In
 “ short, he was like Mr. WOOD, all over
 “ *Brass*; and he *defied the Armies of the*
 “ *living GOD.* GOLIAH’s Conditions of
 “ Combat were likewise the same with those
 “ of WOOD: *If he prevail against us then*
 “ *shall we be his Servants.* But if it hap-
 “ pens that I *prevail* over him I renounce
 “ the other Part of the Condition, he shall
 “ never be a *Servant* of mine; for I do not
 “ think him fit to be trusted in any *honest*
 “ *Man’s Shop.*”

HAVING mentioned the Name of Mr.
 LINDSAY in one of the preceding Para-
 graphs,

* Alluding to the Instructions he had received
 from Mr. LINDSAY.

graphs, I shall venture to publish some few Lines written by that improved Genius, although he was neither born in *England*, nor yet a professed Poet. They are indeed a Specimen of that Sort of Praise; or to speak in the Language of the *Critic*; of that Sort of Flattery with which Dr. SWIFT was daily fed in Ireland.

A Dialogue between an eminent Lawyer and Dr. SWIFT, Dean of St. PATRICK'S, being an Allusion to the first Satire of the second Book of HORACE.

Sunt quibus in satyra, &c.

Written in the Year 1729.

SINCE there are Persons who complain
There's too much Satire in my Vein,
That I am often found exceeding
The Rules of Raillery and Breeding,
With too much Freedom treat my Betters,
Not sparing even Men of Letters,
You, who are skill'd in Lawyer's Lore,
What's your Advice? Shall I give o'er,
Nor ever Fools or Knaves expose
Either in Verse or hum'rous Prose,
And, to avoid all future Ill,
In my 'Scritore lock up my quill?

SINCE you are pleas'd to condescend
To ask the Judgment of a Friend,

Your

Your Case consider'd, I must think
 You shou'd withdraw from Pen and Ink,
 Forbear your Poetry and Jokes,
 And live like other Christian Fokes;
 Or, if the MUSES must inspire
 Your Fancy with their pleasing Fire,
 Take Subjects safer for your Wit
 Than those on which you lately writ,
 Commend the Times, your Thoughts correct
 And follow the prevailing Sect,
 Assert that HYDE in writing Story
 Shews all the Malice of a TORRY,
 While BURNET in his deathless Page
 Discovers Freedom without Rage;
 To WOOLSTON recommend our Youth
 For Learning, Probity and Truth,
 That noble Genius, who unbinds
 The Chains which fetter free-born Minds,
 Redeems us from the slavish Fears
 Which lasted near two Thousand Years,
 He can alone the Priesthood humble,
 Make gilded Spires and Altars tumble.

MUST I commend against my Conscience
 Such stupid Blasphemy and Nonsense?
 To such a Subject tune my Lyre
 And sing like one of MILTON's Choir,
 Where DEVILS to a Vale retreat
 And call the Laws of Wisdom Fate,
 Lament upon their hapless Fall
 That Force free Virtue shou'd enthrall?
 Or, shall the Charms of Wealth and Power
 Make me pollute the MUSES' Bower?

As

As from the Tripod of APOLLO
 Hear from my Desk the Words that follow;
 Some by Philosophers misl'd,
 Must honour you alive and dead,
 And such as know what *Greece* has writ
 Must taste your Irony and Wit,
 While most that are or would be great,
 Must dread your Pen, your Person hate,
 And you on DRAPIER'S *Hill* * must lye,
 And there without a Mitre dye.

AT the Close of these DRAPIER'S Letters, which are all very serious and political, we meet unexpectedly with a Piece of Humour and Ridicule which occasioned a great deal of Mirth and Laughter in those Times. The Title of this whimsical Tract is, *A full and true Account of the solemn Procession to the GALLOWS, at the Execution of WILLIAM WOOD, Esquire and Hard-ware-man.*

AND beside these Papers, he writ several Copies of Verses to expose that vile Impostor WOOD and his Accomplices to the Contempt of his Countrymen. Vid. PROMETHEUS, Vol. 2. P. 197. *A Simile on our Want of Silver*, Id. P. 209. *On WOOD the Iron-monger*, Id. P. 210. *WOOD an Insect*, Id. P. 212. *An Epigram on WOOD's Brass Money*, Vol. 8. P. 317. WILL. WOOD'S *Petition*

* In the County of *Ardmah*, where Dr. SWIFT in the Year 1729 had some Thoughts of Building. Vid. his Poem called DRAPIER'S *Hill*.

Petition to the People of Ireland, Vol. 8.
P. 315.

THESE political Tracts, like many other Writings of Dr. SWIFT, may, for any Thing I know to the contrary, be thought local and temporary; and perhaps for that Reason may chance to be neglected by succeeding Generations; which happens to be the Fate of almost all other Points of History, excepting those only which are stiffly supported by the Clamour and Virulence of contending Parties, according to their several Views and Interests in the Commonwealth. But as the Writings of Dr. SWIFT, and particularly these *Drapier's Letters*, are founded on the secure Basis of the Laws of his Country, and supported throughout the Whole with the warmest Zeal for LIBERTY, they will for ever command the Veneration of those, who are not unworthy to enjoy the Blessings of our Constitution. For although it be a Truth scarce ever regarded, the subject Matter which happens to give Rise to any political Treatise whatsoever is but of little Consequence; that Spirit which is conveyed in the Writings of a Patriot, who is equally faithful to his King and Country, being that alone which improveth our Faculties, and therefore hath a Claim to all the deepest of our Attention, let what Age or Nation soever boast the Honour of his Genius. But if the Inhabitants of these Nations, and

and particularly the People of *Ireland*, will continue to be *like the deaf Adder, which refuseth to hear the Voice of the Charmer charm be never so wisely*; the Time may come when for want of a Patriot inspired like Dr. SWIFT to apprize them of their Danger, they may be doomed to Chains and Slavery by the Contrivance of some wicked Impostor that may lye in wait for their Destruction. Consider therefore, ye Sons of *Ireland*, what Hardships had like to have been inflicted upon your wise, your couragious Patriot; consider what Persecutions were set on Foot against him by Slaves and Wretches, for no other Crime but that of defending your Liberties; or rather indeed for maintaining the very Existence of your Country; against one vile insignificant Mechanick. Think not because that evil Day is past, that in the Womb of Time there cannot be any further Projects to undermine your Liberties. Have ye not seen pretended Patriots of late Years, which have prostituted their impious Pens to serve the vilest Purposes? But Thanks be to God! their Writings have perished, and their Names are universally pronounced with Abhorrence, Contempt and Execration. Read therefore, and imbibe the political Principles of Dr. SWIFT; engrave them on the Tablet of your Hearts; teach them unto your Children's Children; and above all Things remember to fix an indelible Mark of
of

of Infamy upon those Men who by their Words, their Actions, and other wicked insinuating Artifices, endeavour to sap the Vitals of your Liberty. For be assured that in the Day of Trial they will approve themselves to their Masters to be corrupted Slaves and Traitors to their Country.

THE next Piece in the fourth Volume is entitled, *A Short View of the State of Ireland*, written in the Year 1727. But before I shall proceed to enquire into the Merits of this Treatise, I cannot but declare myself heartily sorry, that I am forced to disagree with the Author of the *Remarks* on Dr. SWIFT with Regard to his Critique upon this Article. For surely among all the Pleasures and Delights which have any Respect unto this habitable World, there can be none more generous, more intellectual, and more divine, than to rejoice in the Prosperity of our Country. But alas! the Miseries of *Ireland* being the Effects of a Thousand Causes, are, I am afraid, incurable. At least all Remedies but one (which is abolishing the Use of Gold and Silver out of the whole Community; a Scheme too philosophical, and perhaps too chimærical for so corrupted an Age to reduce into Practice) appear to be so exceedingly desperate, that I verily believe it would require a Legislator equal to the Conductor of the ISRAELITES out of the Land of *Ægypt* to make them a
rich

rich and flourishing People, notwithstanding the Fertility of their Soil and the Temperature of their Climate.

HOWEVER indeed, the Author of the *Remarks* is of Opinion, "That little Notice" should be taken of this Tract, since the "present State of *Ireland* is in general as "flourishing as possible." I am sorry that any Man whose whole Fortune, some trifling *Demefne* with a House upon it only excepted, is reported to be in *Ireland*, should be so great a Stranger to the Groans and Miseries of that unfortunate Kingdom. But what I chiefly wonder at is, that any Man so ambitious to receive the Applause of the World for his great and superlative Humanity; which if I mistake not is a complex Idea that includes Bowels of Compassion, Beneficence and Charity (by which last I understand the universal Agapè* of the *Christians*) could possibly reside for the greater Part of eighteen Years in *Ireland*, without remarking to his infinite Regret, that no People in the *Christian* World are so destitute of Raiment, Food, and all the Conveniencies of Life, as the Inhabitants of that wretched Kingdom; notwithstanding that by GOD and NATURE it is perhaps the most favoured of any Country upon Earth. *Optima Natio; Pessima Gens*; was I remember

* Vid. 1 Cor. xiii. 8.

ber Dr. SWIFT's *Periphrasis* for *Ireland*, whenever his patriot Indignation was raised against the Absurdity of their Conduct and Politicks. But the Author of the *Remarks* having too refined, too sublime, too marvellous a Gusto, for the *Delicatzza* of Conversation to receive any joyous Entertainment from the οἱ πολλοί, values himself upon his Retirement from the World, upon his Converse with the Dead, and upon his having as little Connexion as possible with the Living; the Majesty and Darknes of his Retreat guarding him at the same Time, like Walls and Ramparts, and the rest of his own Fortifications *, from all Approaches and Cries of the poor and destitute. And therefore it is no great Wonder that he should be a Stranger to their Cold, their Hunger, their Nakedness. What a lively Imitator of that GREAT, INEFFABLE PERSON who conversed with *Publicans* and *Sinners*, and went about doing Good!

BUT to return from these Vanities to the political Remarks of Dr. SWIFT. In that Pamphlet, which is now under Consideration, the Doctor enumerates fourteen Causes of any Country's flourishing and growing rich;

* Vid. The Enclosure of Queen ANNE within the whiggish Fortresses; the Retirement of Dr. SWIFT within his own Fortification at *Dublin*: and many other Prolusions of this accomplished *Ingenieur*.

rich; and then examines what Effects arise from these Causes in the Kingdom of *Ireland*. I am well convinced that some few Alterations have taken Place since the Year 1727. But whether in Fact these Alterations have at all contributed to the Interest of the Weal-publick; or whether it appears that they have had the least Effect towards banishing Complaining from our Streets; is at present one of the Points to be considered: And the other is, how far the Remarks of Dr. SWIFT are equally true at this Day as they were in the Year 1727. But to write a particular Descant upon these Matters would require the Genius of an *Historian* as well as the Patience of a *Stoick*; and would besides take up at least the Compass of a good moderate Volume before they could be explained to the Satisfaction of the Publick. I shall therefore, to avoid a Multiplicity of Words, only desire the curious Enquirer into Affairs of this Nature, to peruse the several Causes of a Nation's flourishing and growing rich in the same Order they are inserted by Dr. SWIFT, and carefully observe the Remarks of their old Patriot. What Exceptions I have at present to any of these Particulars, written so many Years ago, I shall faithfully observe in the Progress of this Examination.

BUT to cut these Matters short, I cannot but insist upon it, that *Ireland*, with Regard

to twelve Articles out of the fourteen is just in the same Condition, and labours under the same Disadvantages this present Year of OUR LORD 1754 as it did in the Year 1727.

WITH Respect to the seventh Article which concerns the Improvement of Land and the Encouragement of Agriculture, *Ireland* is by far in a worse Situation at present than it was in the Year 1727, notwithstanding many Appearances to the contrary. For although it be certain that great Improvements, and particularly the finest Roads perhaps in the World have been made since that Epoch, Flocks and Herds have been only thereby multiplied. And although it be asserted by the Author of the *Remarks* that Agriculture is cultivated [*i. e.* that the Culture of Land is cultivated] in *Ireland*; the greater Part of the Husbandmen, the Labourers, and the Poor have, meerly for the Sake of those cursed Cattle which are the Bane of *Ireland*, been driven out of their wretched Habitations, and banished the Country helpless, naked and forlorn; to rot, starve, and perish in desolate Places, to the great Diminution of the Inhabitants.

AND as to the fourteenth Article, the People of *Ireland* by their Folly, their Madness, their Luxury and Disregard to all publick Interest, are by many Degrees in a more wretched Condition than they were in the Year

Year 1727; the most common Necessaries, even their Corn, their Ale and their Potatoes being, to the Shame and Confusion of their Politicks, imported from Abroad as well as their Tea, their Claret and their Spices.

As to the Remainder of that Critique which is written by the Author of the *Remarks* from the Words "*Ireland in Relation of England*" to the End of the Paragraph; it is so much this; and so much that; and so much I know not what; that I shall leave it *puris naturalibus* to the Enjoyment of those who are at Leisure to understand it.

SUBSEQUENT to the *Short View of the State of Ireland* is a Piece entitled, *An Answer to a Paper called a Memorial of the poor Inhabitants, Tradesmen and Labourers of the Kingdom of Ireland*; written in the Year 1728; which as far as it relates to Agriculture and Grazing, confirms what I have said in this Chapter with Regard to Ireland.

THE next Pamphlet is *A Modest Proposal for preventing the Children of poor People in Ireland from being a Burden to their Parents or Country; and for making them beneficial to the Publick*; written in the Year 1729. This humorous Treatise, equally the Product of Despair and Benevolence, seemeth to have been written in the Bitterness of his Soul, and principally addressed to the Consideration

sideration of those merciless Tyrants which starve and oppress their Fellow-creatures even to the Shame and Destruction of their Country. His Proposal is to fatten up the Children of *Beggars, Cottagers and Farmers*, as they do Lambs and Pigs for the Markets, and sell their Carcasses to the Rich; a Food which he declares to be *very proper for Landlords*; who as they have already devoured most of the Parents, seem to have the best Title to their Children.

IN the Year 1730 he writ *A Vindication of his Excellence JOHN Lord CARTERET **, *from the Charge of favouring none but Tories, High-Church-men and Jacobites*; a Piece wherein the Failings of that accomplished Person arising from the Prejudices of great Talents and a learned Education, are finely displayed with infinite Wit and Humour. However indeed, there is couched in this Pamphlet Abundance of Satire. PISTORIDES, that poor, angry, bustling Mortal, he treats with all imaginable Contempt: But in his Satire against TRAUlus he spares not to draw Blood at every Stroke; the former Part of which is bitterly sarcastick, and the latter as bitterly ironical. His Account of AGESILAUS being caught by the *Parson of the Parish* riding on a Hobby-horse with his Children, and some other Touches of the like Sort are truly diverting.

THE

* Now Earl of GRANVILLE.

THE Story of the INJURED LADY in *A Letter to her Friend, with his Answer*; which seems to have been written about seven or eight and forty Years ago; are so express, clear, and significant, that no Critique is wanted to give them a further Illustration.

HAVING in this Chapter occasionally remarked upon all the political Papers of Dr. SWIFT relating to *Ireland*, those only excepted wherein the Rights of the Clergy and the Cause of Christianity are expressly and immediately concerned; I shall, to avoid entering into a large Field of Reasoning and Debate, only observe in general that SWIFT being a thorough Master of Politicks, and far beyond all the wisest of his Cotemporaries deeply versed in the History of Parties, could discover at a surprizing Distance the natural Consequences of those Efforts which had been frequently made during the Time he flourished, to subvert our happy Constitution both of Church and State; insomuch that he appears from a great Variety of his Tracts to have been one of the most sagacious Watchmen that ever was known in the Church of CHRIST.

C H A P. X.

HAVING in the two or three former Chapters sufficiently remarked on the political Behaviour of Dr. SWIFT, I shall now proceed to make some critical Observations upon his Travels. But since the Doctor's Writings are always so clear and significant, that few or no Remarks are required to make them intelligible to all Capacities; I shall only observe in the general that his famous GULLIVER is a direct, plain and bitter Satire against the innumerable Follies and Corruptions in Law, Politicks, Learning, Morals and Religion. And without Dispute these manifold Corruptions have in a Course of Ages, by the Refinements and Glosses of iniquitous Men, arrived at last to such Strength and Effrontery as to render it impossible for all the Wit and Genius that ever warmed the Imagination of a Satirist to lash them with any Degree of Severity proportioned to that Excess of Perturbation and Mischief which they severally occasion in the great Circle of Society. All therefore which can be done by a wise Man (seeing that by Nature he is appointed to act for the Space of thirty, fifty or seventy Years some ridiculous, silly Part in this fantastick Theatre of Misery, Vice and Corruption) is either to lament with HERACLITUS the Iniquities

quities of the World; or which is the more chearful, and therefore I do presume the more eligible Course, to laugh with DEMOCRITUS at all the Knaves and Fools upon Earth. And accordingly we find that Dr. SWIFT has in these *Travels* exerted a Force of Ridicule and Satire, pointed so directly against the Depravities of Humankind, and supported with such an Abundance of Wit and Pleasantry as indeed more than persuade us to believe that his Intention was either to laugh Vice and Immorality if it were possible quite out of the World; or at least to avenge the Cause of Virtue on all the Patrons and Abettors of Iniquity.

GULLIVER'S Voyage to *Lilliput* as well as the Voyage to *Brobdignag*, the Machinery and some particular Sallies of Nature, Wit and Humour only excepted, is intirely political. His Meaning throughout the Whole, especially where he glances at the History of his own Times, the Wars of *Europe* and the Factions of WHIG and TORY, is to be found so very near the Surface, that it would almost be an Affront to the common Reason of those who are at all versed in the Affairs of the World to offer at any further Explication.

HOWEVER, we find it asserted by that very sagacious Critick so often mentioned, that Dr. SWIFT in his Account of *Lilliput*

“dares even to exert his Vein of Humour so

Q

“liberally

“ liberally as to place the Resurrection (one
“ of the most encouraging Principles of the
“ Christian Religion) in a ridiculous and
“ contemptible Light.” What Grounds
there are for such an Accusation we shall see
presently. That Passage in GULLIVER
which seems to be referred to runs in the
following Manner ; “ They bury their Dead
“ with their Heads directly downwards ;
“ because they hold an Opinion that in ele-
“ ven Thousand Moons they are all to rise
“ again ; in which Period the Earth
“ (which they conceive to be flat) will turn
“ upside down, and by this Means they
“ shall at their Resurrection be found ready
“ standing on their Feet. The learned
“ among them confess the Absurdity of this
“ Doctrine ; but the Practice still continues
“ in Compliance to the Vulgar.” A Para-
graph which, if it were examined with
Judgment and Candor, would incline us to
believe, that an Opinion of a Life to come is
connected so immediately with all our Rea-
soning Faculties, that supposing we had never
been blessed with any Revelation from God
we should believe the Resurrection to Life
eternal. But the *Lilliputians* believe that
after eleven Thousand Moons the Earth
will be turned upside down ; and upon that
Account they are buried with their Heads
directly downwards, in order to be found
standing upon their Feet at the Day of Re-
surrection ;

urrection: An Opinion, which I confess with the learned among themselves to be whimsical and ridiculous enough. But Follies and Absurdities are always mixed with Idolatry and Superstition. Perhaps it will be objected, that in perusing GULLIVER we are *always* to understand *Lilliput* to be some Nation of *Christendom*, and consequently their religious Opinions to be the Christian Faith. But, this I will venture to say, that whoever reads the Voyage to *Lilliput* in that Light, will find himself to be grossly mistaken. For the *Lilliputians* (although we are not expressly told so by Dr. SWIFT) were so far from being *Christians* of any Denomination, that in Fact they were rank Idolaters; otherwise it is impossible, that a People secluded from all the rest of the World, except the Island of *Blefuscu*, should imagine GULLIVER's Watch to be the God that he worshipped. And therefore I cannot but infer, that instead of placing the Resurrection in a ridiculous, contemptible Light, GULLIVER hath fairly manifested the Opinion of a State hereafter, (although connected with some Vanities and Absurdities, which are the Effects of Superstition) to be the Ground-work of all Religion, founded upon the clear and strong Dictates both of Nature and Reason.

WE are also told by this incomparable Judge of Excellencies and Defects in the

Productions of the learned, "That the seventh Chapter of the Voyage to *Brobdingnag* contains such Sarcasms on the Structure of the human Body, as too plainly shew us; that the Author was unwilling to lose any Opportunity of debasing and ridiculing his own Species." But whereabouts in the seventh Chapter of the Voyage to *Brobdingnag* the Author of GULLIVER hath endeavoured to ridicule his own Species I protest I cannot conceive. Perhaps the Critick imagines the Structure of the human Body is ridiculed, because a Man of six Foot high cannot read a Folio of twenty Foot high with the help of a Ladder. But, such a Representation of GULLIVER in the Character of GRILDRIG is so far from being a Defect in the Author's Judgment, or indeed a Satyre upon the human Species, that on the contrary, it is an Incident manifestly designed to keep up the Probability; neither without some Contrivance of that Kind was it possible that he could have been acquainted with their Learning; and consequently must have been totally silent with Regard to that Point. I am inclined therefore to believe the Critick's Indignation was raised against Dr. SWIFT, because in this Chapter he introduces the King of *Brobdingnag* as treating GULLIVER with some Sort of Contempt. But whether Dr. SWIFT can deserve our Censure upon
this

this Account, shall be the Subject of our next Enquiry.

IN the former Part of this Chapter we are told by GULLIVER, that as a small Tribute of Acknowledgment, in return for so many Marks of royal Favour and Protection, which he had received from the Prince of *Brobdingnag*, he discovered to him the Force of Powder and the Use of Artillery; and besides, made him an Offer to instruct his Servants in the Composition of Gunpowder, and direct his Workmen how to make Cannons and Demiculverins of a Size proportionable to all other Things in his Majesty's Kingdom. Whereupon the King of *Brobdingnag*, a Prince whom he declares to be possessed of every Quality which procures Veneration, Love, and Esteem; of strong Parts, great Wisdom, and profound Learning; endued with admirable Talents for Government, and almost adored by his Subjects; was struck with Horror at the Description he had given of those terrible Engines, and the Proposal he had made.

“ He was amazed (saith GULLIVER) how
 “ so impotent and grovelling and Insect as
 “ I (these were his Expressions) could entertain such inhuman Ideas, and in so familiar a Manner as to appear wholly unmoved at all the Scenes of Blood and Desolation, which I had painted as the common Effects of those destructive Machines;

“ chines; whereof he said, some evil Ge-
 “ nius, Enemy to Mankind, must have
 “ been the first Contriver. As for himself,
 “ he protested, that although few Things
 “ delighted him so much as new Discove-
 “ ries in Art or in Nature; yet he would
 “ rather lose Half his Kingdom, than be
 “ privy to such a Secret; which he com-
 “ manded me, as I valued my Life, never
 “ to mention any more.”

IN the above Quotation we find the King of *Brobdingnag*, perfectly enraged to think, so diminutive a Creature as GULLIVER in Respect to the Inhabitants of that Empire could entertain such inhuman Ideas, and appear wholly unmoved at all the Scenes of Blood and Desolation, which he had painted as the common Effects of those destructive Machines; calls him in disdain a *gro-velling Insect*; an Expression highly proper on that Occasion from a Patriot King, so great, so venerable, and so beneficent to his People. But if this be degrading the human Species, I am at a Loss to conceive in what Manner we can defend that uncourtly Address of JOHN the BAPTIST to his own Countrymen, “ Ye Generation of Vipers, “ &c.*” than which, nothing can be more sarcastick, it being the received Opinion of those Times, that Vipers were of a Nature so cruel and sanguinary, as to force their
 Passage

* MATTHEW, iii. 7.

Passage into the World by gnawing their Way thorough the Bowels that bred and nourished them, leaving their Dam a lifeless Carcass * upon the Earth. But, if the human Species be neither ridiculed by a Man of six Foot high mounting a Ladder for the Conveniency of reading a gigantic Folio; nor by the prince of *Brobdingnag's* calling the diminutive GULLIVER on a particular Occasion, a *little grovelling Insect*; I declare the Remarks of the Critick are totally beyond my Comprehension. However indeed, there is a Paragraph in the seventh Chapter of the Voyage to *Brobdingnag*, which it is impossible to read without calling to Mind that wicked *Meditation on a Broomstick*, which is every Day rising more and more in the Estimation of the World.

THE Design of GULLIVER in his Voyage to *Laputa* is to ridicule the vain Pretensions of Chymists, Mathematicians, Projectors, and the rest of that speculative Tribe, who spend their Time in aerial Studies, by no Means calculated to improve the Faculties of the Mind, or to enlarge the Number of Ideas; Mathematicians (I mean those only, and I desire my Words may not be racked, who

* Tertia die intra uterum catulos excludit: deinde singulos singulis diebus parit, viginti fere numero. Itaque cæteræ tarditatis impatientes, petrumpunt latera, occisâ parente. PLIN, Nat. Hist, lib, 10. cap. 82.

who are entirely devoted to their Circles, their Telescopes and their Laboratory) being a Race of Men, so very abstracted from all sublunary Affairs, that scarce one in twenty of them can give you a rational Answer. However indeed, a certain Degree of mathematical Knowledge is, without Dispute, extremely necessary in the Pursuit of the *Æsculapian* Science, Architecture, and other Species of Mechanicks. But, when the Soul rambles after a thousand Chimæras, and the Brain is wholly absorbed in the Consideration of the several Powers of Attraction, Repulsion, and the Circulation of the heavenly Bodies; or, when a Projector with sooty Hands and Face is employed in his Laboratory in producing a considerable Degree of Cold, in order to refrigerate the Air, and qualify the raging of the Dog-star; which exactly answers to the Project of extracting Sun-beams out of Cucumbers; such Follies and Extravagancies are certainly the Objects of Derision. And accordingly Dr. SWIFT has laughed egregiously in the Voyage to *Laputa*, and exerted a Vein of Humour, not against the whole Tribe of Chymists, Projectors, and Mathematicians in general; but against those, and those only, who despise the useful Branches of Science, and waste their Lives in the Pursuit of aerial Vanities and Extravagancies.

GULLIVER'S

GULLIVER'S Account of his Entertainment at *Glubdubdrib*, or the Island of Sorcerers, is strangely and whimsically diverting. ALEXANDER the GREAT, at the Head of his Army just after the Battle of *Arbela*, assured GULLIVER upon his honor, that he was not poisoned, but died of a Fever by excessive Drinking. And afterwards HANNIBAL passing the Alps, declared to him, that he had not a Drop of Vinegar in his Camp. How ridiculous, how contemptible, are these Plagues of the World; these Destroyers of the human Race; when stripped of their Royalty and Command, as well as their Ability to perpetrate any further Mischief.

— Mors sola fatetur
Quantula sint hominum corpuscula.
Juv. Sat. 10.

HOWEVER indeed the famous Remarker on the Works of Dr. SWIFT is pleased to censure GULLIVER'S Taste in the Choice of his SEXTUMVIRATE; and the more so, because he declares it to be a SEXTUMVIRATE, to which all the Ages of the World cannot add a seventh. But to justify the Taste of GULLIVER with Regard to his Choice of Patriots, would be to enter much deeper into the Lives and Characters of these immortal Heroes, than appears to be requisite upon so transient an Occasion. Be-

side FAME and HISTORY are so loud and frequent in their Praise, that every Body is acquainted with their superior Merits. I shall therefore only observe, how the Critick from a Lapse of his own Memory has happily caught an Opportunity to fall upon the Reputation of Dr. SWIFT with great Severity. But, as CATO the *younger*, not CATO the *Censor*, is ranked by the Doctor in this Groupe of Heroes; the Critick, without any Offence to GULLIVER, may be as angry and as severe upon the old Censor, as in the Abundance of his Generosity he may think convenient. Neither indeed has GULLIVER, as the Critick is pleased to assert, excluded all future Generations from adding to this SEXTUMVIRATE. For, GULLIVER speaks only of the Time past; what CATOS may appear to bless the World, and oppose the Torrent of Corruption, in after Ages; God only knows. But, why should we trouble ourselves any longer with these flimsy Remarks; the Doctor being no more accountable for the Mistakes and Blunders of his Commentators, than HOMER and ARISTOTLE are accountable for the Mistakes and Blunders of theirs?

In the next Chapter we are told by GULLIVER, that HOMER had Eyes the most quick and piercing he had ever beheld. You may see what his Critick says upon this Point, if you think it will be worth your Attention.

Attention. All that is meant by GULLIVER is, that HOMER had the most quick and piercing Genius of all human Race.

GULLIVER'S Account of the STRULD-BRUGGS in the tenth Chapter of the Voyage to LAPUTA; which is the finest Lecture that ever was conceived by any mortal Man to reconcile poor tottering Creatures unto a chearful Resignation of this wretched Life, and perfectly agreeable to that Sentiment of the inspired Prophet, *The Days of our Life are threescore Years and ten; and though Men be so strong, that they live to fourscore Years; yet is their Life then but Labour and Sorrow*, hath furnished the Critick with an Opportunity of reproaching Dr. SWIFT with those Calamities, which it was by no Means in his Power to avert. These Dispensations of the ALMIGHTY, which are frequently the Concomitants of old Age, and which the Doctor throughout his whole Life constantly apprehended from some peculiar Infirmities attending his Habit of Body would seize upon him at last*; the

R 2

Critick,

* It was for many Years before the Doctor had lost his Memory a common Saying of his, at the Time of his parting in the Evening with an intimate Friend, that used to visit him twice or thrice a Week, "*Well; God bless you; good Night to you; but I hope I shall never see you again.*" In this Manner he would frequently express the Desire

Critick, without any Sort of Hesitation, as roundly asserts to be the avenging Judgments of God, as if he had been let into the Secret by some particular Revelation. And from thence he takes Occasion, in three or four different Passages of what he calls *Remarks upon the Life and Writings of Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT*, riotously to insult the Memory of that great Person, whose Friendship, notwithstanding the Doctor's Pride, he would insinuate to the World that he might have the Honour to boast of: Which is a Point I shall consider of in its due Place, if it

Desire he had to get rid of the World, after a Day spent in Chearfulness, without any Provocation from Anger, Melancholy, or Disappointment. This puts me in Mind of an Accident that happened about the latter End of the Year 1739. As Dr. SWIFT and a Clergyman were talking together in one of the Bed-chambers at the Deanery House, they stood for some Time between the Windows under a very large, weighty Pier Glass; but upon their moving accidentally to another Part of the Room, down fell the Glass, and broke into a thousand Pieces, within Half a Minute after they had quitted the Place. Was it not a Mercy, said the Clergyman to the Dean, that we moved from that Spot the Moment we did; for undoubtedly if we had staid there any longer, we should both have been killed? I am sorry for it, answered the Dean: I wish the Glass had fallen upon me. So extremely apprehensive was Dr. SWIFT that his Memory would totally fail him some Time before his Decease.

it happens to fall in my Way. / But by what Spirit, either from above or below, these Revelations were communicated unto him, he is perfectly silent. And therefore I cannot but infer, at least until there appear some better Authority to vouch the Assertions of the Critick; that instead of insulting the Ashes of so bright a Genius with the Infirmities of his latter Days, and comparing him to one of his own STRULDBRUGS, we should endeavour to inflame our Souls by catching Fire, and Spirit, and Patriotism, from his inimitable Writings; and silently confess the Ways of God to be inscrutable, and his Judgments past finding out.

I HAVE been told that some others, beside the grand Remarker upon the Works of Dr. SWIFT, have thought proper to censure GULLIVER'S Voyage to the HOUYHNHNMS. But whether indeed their Animadversions proceeded from the Infirmary of their Judgment, or from some YAHOO Depravity in their own Nature, I shall not vouchsafe to enquire; as the daily Occurrences of this wretched World prove, illustrate, and confirm all the Sarcasms of the Doctor. Shall we praise that excellent Moralist, the humorous HOGARTH, for exposing Midnight Revels, Debaucheries, and a Thousand other Vices and Follies of human Kind, in a Series of Hieroglyphicks, suited to the Improvement and the Correction of the wild, the

gay, the frolick, and the extravagant? And shall we condemn a Preacher of Righteousness, for exposing under the Character of a nasty unteachable YAHOO the Deformity, the Blackness, the Filthiness, and Corruption of those hellish, abominable Vices, which inflame the Wrath of GOD against the Children of Disobedience; and subject them without Repentance, that is, without a thorough Change of Life and Practice, to everlasting Perdition? Ought a Preacher of Righteousness; ought a Watchman of the Christian Faith, (who is accountable for his Talents, and obliged to warn the innocent, as well as terrify the wicked and the prophane) to hold his Peace, like a dumb Dog that cannot bark, when Avarice, Fraud, Cheating, Violence, Rapine, Extortion, Cruelty, Oppression, Tyranny, Rancour, Envy, Malice, Detraction, Hatred, Revenge, Murder, Whoredom, Adultery, Lasciviousness, Bribery, Corruption, Pimping, Lying, Perjury, Subornation, Treachery, Ingratitude, Gaming, Flattery, Drunkenness, Gluttony, Luxury, Vanity, Effeminacy, Cowardice, Pride, Impudence, Hypocrisy, Infidelity, Blasphemy, Idolatry, Sodomy, and innumerable other Vices are as epidemical as the Pox, and many of them the notorious Characteristicks of the Bulk of human Kind? I would ask these mighty Softeners; these kind Pretenders to Benevolence; these hollow

low Charity-mongers ; what is the real Opinion of that OLD SERPENT, which, like a roaring Lion, traverseth the Globe, seeking whom he may devour ? Was he not created by the ALMIGHTY pure, faultless, intelligent ? but is there now throughout the whole System of created Existences, any BEAST, any YAHOO, any TYRANT so vile, so base, so corrupted ? And whence originally proceeded the Change ? was it not from the Abuse of that Freedom, without which no created INTELLIGENCE can be reputed faithful, wise, brave, or virtuous, in the Eyes of his CREATOR ? And surely, if this once great, once glorious Spirit hath been reduced for many Thousands of Ages, for aught we know to the contrary, below all the several Gradations of created Beings, whether Intelligent, Animal, or Insensible ; and exposed to the Fury of that avenging, although merciful GOD, who is the Fountain of all Wisdom, Goodness, and Virtue ; are we not to conclude by an exact Parity of Reason, that every moral Agent is equally accountable to GOD for that Degree of Intelligence and Perfection, which determine the Nature of his Existence ? And upon this very Principle, which cannot be denied without running into the last of Absurdities ; and which in Fact is the Reasoning of St. PETER throughout his whole second Chapter of his second Epistle ; that Creature

Man, that glorious Creature Man, is deservedly more contemptible than a Brute Beast, when he flies in the Face of his CREATOR by enlisting under the Banner of the Enemy; and perverts that Reason, which was designed to have been the Glory of his Nature, even the directing Spirit of his Life and Demeanour, to the vilest, the most execrable, the most hellish Purposes. And this manifestly appears to be the Ground-Work of the whole Satyre contained in the Voyage to the HOUYHNHNS.

BUT, to silence these tasteless Animadvertsers upon the Works of an uncommon, heteroclite Genius; I shall observe, that Dr. SWIFT was not the first Preacher, whose Writings import this Kind of Philosophy. And, to confirm what I have asserted, I shall produce some unquestionable Authorities, which in Effect will justify all the Sarcasms of the Doctor.

ESDRAS, one of the Posterity of AARON the Priest, hath the Boldness to address himself in Prayer unto GOD, in the following Words; " Let it not be thy Will to destroy
 " them which have lived like BEASTS; but
 " to look upon them that have clearly
 " taught thy Law. Take thou no Indig-
 " nation at them which are deemed WORSE
 " THAN BEASTS: But love them that always
 " put their Trust in thy Righteousness and
 " Glory*."

“ Glory *.” And SOLOMON, reasoning upon the Forbearance of the GOD of ISRAEL, doth acknowledge with Regret; “ How the
 “ Jews had all gone astray very far in the
 “ Ways of Error, and held them for Gods,
 “ which even amongst the BEASTS of their
 “ Enemies [meaning the several idolatrous Nations in the Vicinity of *Judaea*]
 “ were despised, being deceived as Children
 “ of no Understanding †.” ISAIAH the Prophet, lashing, satyrically enough, the Avarice, and the Luxury, and the Stupidity of the upper Classes of the *Priests* and *Levites*, openly declares; “ The Watchmen [of
 “ ISRAEL] are blind; they are all ignorant;
 “ they are all dumb DOGS, they cannot
 “ bark; sleeping, lying down, loving to
 “ slumber. Yea, they are greedy DOGS
 “ which can never have enough, and they
 “ are Shepherds that cannot understand;
 “ they all look to their own Way, every
 “ one for his Gain, from his Quarter.
 “ Come ye, say they, I will fetch Wine,
 “ and we will fill ourselves with strong
 “ Drink, and To-Morrow shall be as this
 “ Day, and much more abundant §.” Neither do we find the *Præcursor* of our LORD and SAVIOUR to be less sarcastick in the Manner of his Address even to the posterity of ABRAHAM; “ Ye Generation of VI-
 “ PERS

* 2 ESPRAS viii. 29, 30. † WISD. of SOL.
 xii. 24. § ISAIA. lvi. 10, 11, 12.

“ PERS (saith the Voice of one crying in the
 “ Wilderiness to the *Scribes* and *Pharisees*
 “ when they came to his Baptism) who
 “ hath warned you to flee from the Wrath
 “ to come †?” And after the Promulgati-
 on of the Gospel, the *Apostles* of our Blessed
 LORD speak with great Boldness in the same
 Dialect. “ Beware of Dogs, (saith the con-
 “ verted PAUL of *Tarsus* to his Christian
 “ *Profelytes*) beware of evil Workers, be-
 “ ware of the Concision ||.” And again,
 talking of the *Cretans* in his Epistle to TI-
 TUS; “ One of themselves, even a Prophet
 “ of their own [which was EPIMENIDES
 “ the *Gnossian* Poet] said, the *Cretans* are
 “ always Lyars, evil Beasts, slow Bellies.
 “ This Witness is true: Wherefore rebuke
 “ them sharply, &c. §” We are also told
 by the same Apostle in plain Terms, “ That
 “ he fought with BEASTS at *Ephesus* *” St.
 PETER carries the Matter still further; and
 is by no Means less sarcastick than Dr.
 SWIFT in the Manner of his Expression.
 This great *Apostle*, fired with Indignation at
 the Avarice, the Villainy, and Corruption
 of those false Teachers, who privily bring
 in damnable Heresies, even denying the
 LORD that bought them; like many scanda-
 lous Wretches in our own Times, and other blasphe-

† MATT. iii. 7. || PHIL. iii. 2. § TIT.
 i. 12, 13. * I COR. xv. 32.

blasphemous Seducers to Infidelity and Vice; declares without Hesitation; " That having
 " blasphemed in Matters, whereof they are
 " totally ignorant, they shall, as natural
 " BRUTE BEASTS, *made to be taken and de-*
 " *stroyed*, utterly perish in their own Cor-
 " ruption!*" And again the same *Apostle*
 in the same Chapter, talking of the wicked
 and disobedient, assures us; " That it would
 " have been better for them not to have
 " known the Way of Righteousness, than
 " after they had known it, to have turned
 " away from the holy Commandment deli-
 " vered unto them. But, it has happened
 " unto them according to the true Proverb,
 " the Dog returneth to his own Vomit; and
 " the Sow that was washed, to her wal-
 " lowing in the Mire." Let us hear also
 what saith the *Angel*, who personates the
 ALPHA and OMEGA, the BEGINNING and
 the END, the FIRST and the LAST. " Bless-
 " ed are they that do his [God's] Com-
 " mandments, that they may have a Right
 " unto the Tree of Life, and may enter in
 " through the Gates into the City. But
 " without shall be Dogs, and Sorcerers,
 " and Whoremongers, and Murderers, and
 " whosoever loveth and maketh a Lye §."
 But not to accumulate from the Holy Scrip-
 tures any further Quotations; I shall only
 observe,

* 2 PET. ii. 12. § REV. xxii, 14, 15.

observe, that our SAVIOUR CHRIST himself compareth false Prophets, and the Bulk of human Kind to a Parcel of ravening WOLVES†;” and besides, not only calleth the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* a Generation of VIPERS; but on Account of the Depravity of their Nature, gives them the Appellation of Serpents, in Allusion to the perverted Nature of that once glorious Spirit, the OLD DRAGON, whose Children he expressly declareth them to be, and not the Children of GOD ||.

BUT, to conclude these Remarks upon the Voyage to the HOUYHNHNMS; if the Brutality and Filthiness of the YAHOOs be represented by the satyrick Genius of Dr. SWIFT in Colours the most shocking and detestable; as they certainly are, and as in Fact they ought to have been; the Picture is the more striking, as well as the more terrible; and upon that Account, more likely to inforce the Obligation of Religion and Virtue upon the Souls of Men.

C H A P. XI.

THE Merits of Dr. SWIFT in the Character of a Poet are considerably great. His Descriptions, wherein there constantly

† MATT. vii. 15. and MATT. x. 16.

|| JOHN viii. 44.

constantly appear the distinguishing Marks of his own peculiar Talents, are extremely just and lively; many of his Groups are not to be excelled by any Painter's Imagination; his Rhymes and his Numbers are chaste and delicate; and in many Places, when rather by Accident than Choice he rises from the Earth, and soars into the Regions of Poetry, he is equal to the finest Masters among the *Greeks* and *Romans*; his Ideas are lofty, and his Versification musically sonorous. And yet after all, he is not to be considered in the Light of a professed Poet; the Multitude of his Writings on various Subjects both in Verse and Prose being an evident Demonstration, that he was superiour to any particular Course of Learning. He was born to be the Encourager of Virtue, and the Terror of the Wicked. He never sat musing in his Elbow Chair upon new Subjects, for the Exercise of his Genius, and the Advancement of his Fame; but writ occasionally to please and to reform the World, as either Politicks or Humour gave the Spur to his Faculties. There are but few of his Poems that seem to have been the Labour of more than one Day, how greatly soever they might have been corrected and polished afterwards to his own liking, before he transcribed them fair. In the Month of October 1710 he writ a Ballad, full of Puns, on the *Westminster* Election, that

that cost him Half an Hour, which had a great Run, although he tells Mrs. JOHNSON in one of his Letters, it was good for nothing. In December 1711, he writ TOLAND's Invitation to DISMAL to dine with the *Calves Head Club*, occasioned by his Friend the Lord Treasurer OXFORD's hinting to him one Evening, that he wished a Ballad was made on the E. of ****. The Ballad, which according to SWIFT's Observation is two Degrees above *Grubstreet*, was written and sent to the Press the next Morning; and when it was brought by the Printer to that famous and grand Society, whereof SWIFT was a Member *, and read by one of the Company, it made them all laugh a Dozen Times †. As this Ballad has Abundance of Wit and Humour, strangely adapted to the Proceedings and Outrage of the WHIGS at that particular Juncture, and is not to be found in any Collection of SWIFT's Works that I know of, I shall gratify the Men of Taste and Spirit, who are all of them Admirers of the Doctor, with this rapid Performance.

T—

* The Members of this Society were about Sixteen of the greatest Men in *England*. They dined once a Week at each other's Houses, or at Taverns, if more convenient, by Rotation.

† This we are told in a Letter from SWIFT to Mrs. JOHNSON.

T-L-ND'S INVITATION to DISMAL,
to dine with the *Calves Head Club*.

Imitated from HORACE, Epist. 5. Lib. 1.

IF, dearest *Dismal*, you for once can dine
Upon a single Dish, and Tavern Wine,

T-l-nd to you this Invitation sends

To eat the CALVES-HEAD with your trusty
Friends:

Suspend a while your vain ambitious Hopes,
Leave hunting after Bribes, forget your
Tropes.

To-Morrow we our *mystick Feast* prepare,
Where thou, our latest *Profelyte*, shalt share:
When we, by proper Signs and Symbols tell,
How, by *brave Hands*, the *royal* TRAYTOR
fell,

The Meat shall represent the TYRANT's Head,
The Wine, his Blood, *our Predecessors* shed,
Whilst an *alluding* Hymn some Artist sings,
We toast Confusion to the Race of Kings:
At Monarchy we nobly shew our Spight,
And talk *what Fools call Treason* all the Night.

WHO,

Si potes archaicis conviva recumbere lectis,
Nec modicâ coenare times olus omne patella:
Supremo te sole domi, Torquate, manebo.

* * * * *

Mitte leves spes, & certamina divitiarum,
Et Moschi causam. Cras nato Cæsare festus

Dat

Who, by Disgraces or ill Fortune sunk,
Feels not his Soul enliven'd when he's drunk?
Wine can clear up *G-d-lph-n*'s cloudy Face,
And fill *f-ck Sm-th* with Hopes to keep
his Place;

By Force of Wine ev'n *Sc-rb-r--gb* is brave,
Hal grows more pert, and *S-mm-rs* not so
grave:

Wine can give *P-rt-d* Wit, and *Cl--v--nd*
Sense,

M-t-g-e Learning, *B-lt-n* Eloquence:
Ch-ly, when drunk can never lose his Wand,
And *L-nc-n* then imagines he has Land.

My Province is, to see that all be right,
Glasses and Linen clean, and Pewter bright;
From our *mysterious Club* to keep out Spies,
And *Tories* (dress'd like Waiters) in Disguise.
You shall be coupled as you best approve,
Seated at Table next the Men you love.

S—

Dat veniam somnumque dies: impunè licebit
Æstivam sermone benigno tendere noctem.

* * * * *

Quid non ebrietas designat? Operta recludit;
Spes jubet esse ratas; in prælia trudit inermem:
Sollicitis animis onus eximit; addocet artes.
Fœcundi calices quem non fecere disertum?
Contracta quem non in paupertate solutum?
Hæc ego procurare & idoneus imperor, & non
Invitus; ne turpe toral, ne sordida mappa
Corruget nares, ne non & cantharus, & lanx,
Ostendat tibi te; ne fidos inter amicos

Ostendat

S-and-nd, Or-rd, B-le, and R-eb-d's Grace
Will come; and *H-mbd-n* shall have *W-p-le's*
Place.

W-rt-n, unless prevented by a Whore
Will hardly fail, and there is room for more;
But I love Elbow-room whene'er I drink,
And honest *Harry* is too apt to st—k.

LET no Pretence of Bus'ness make you
stay,

Yet take one Word of Counsel by the Way.
If *Gu-rn-y* call, send Word you're gone
Abroad,

He'll tease you with King *Charles* and Bishop
Laud,

Or make you fast and carry you to Pray'rs;
But if he will break in, and walk up Stairs,
Steal by the Back-Door out, and leave him
there;

Then order *Squash* to call a hackney Chair.

Jan. 29.

THERE indisputably runs a Vein of Satyre
throughout all the Writings of Dr. SWIFT;
but, as he declares that no Age could have
more

Sit, qui dicta foras eliminet: ut coeat par,
Jungaturque pari. Brutum tibi, Septimiumque,
Et, nisi coena prior, potiorque puella Sabinum
Detinet, affumam; locus est & pluribus umbris:
Sed nimis arcta premunt olidæ convivia capræ.
Tu, quotus esse velis, rescribe; &, rebus omissis,
Atria servantem postico falle clientem.

more deserved it, than that particular Age wherein he was destined to live; he is entitled to all the Praise we can bestow upon him, for exerting his whole Abilities in the Defence of Honour, Virtue, and his Country. In his general Satyre, where perhaps Thousands were equally meant, he hath never once through Malice inserted the Name of any one Person; the Vice nevertheless he exposeth to Contempt and Ridicule. But, in particular Satyre, when egregious Monsters, Traytors to the Weal-publick, and Slaves to Party, are the Objects of his Resentment, he lashes without Mercy; well knowing that Infamy, which is perhaps a Taste of Hell, is the only Punishment, which in this World can be inflicted upon such Rebels to Society, as either by Craft or Corruption bid Defiance to the Laws.

PERHAPS it may be expected, that in a Work of this Kind we should run into a minute Detail of his Poetry, and single out many of the finest Strokes of his uncommon, heteroclitic Genius. But, since every Man of Taste and Learning has Abilities in himself to be his own Critick, and to admire the real Beauties of an Author, as well as to accompany his Flights into the most distant Regions of Poetry, without Guide or Monitor; we shall be very sparing in References and Quotations of that Sort. It may not, however, be amiss to observe in general, before

force we proceed to any critical Remarks, that SWIFT's poetical Writings, which in their present Situation are only a beautiful Heap of Confusion, rather distracting the Eye, and flashing upon the Imagination, than conducting our Fancies into poetick Scenes; and commanding our Approbation, while they improve our Faculties; might easily be reduced into a Number of Classes under their proper Heads, and those which are too miscellaneous for any particular Series might follow the rest to Posterity in a Course by themselves; in which Order, for the Sake of the Doctor's Reputation, I would earnestly recommend them to be published by all future Editors. Neither would the Arrangement of his Works in Prose and Verse (for indeed they are both very strangely confused through his own Carelessness) be any difficult Task to a Man of common Abilities with any Degree of Attention.

ONE of the most distinguishing Characteristicks of Dr. SWIFT was a bright and clear Genius, so extremely piercing, that every the most striking Circumstance, arising from any Subject whatever, quickly occurred to his Imagination; and these he frequently so accumulated one upon another, that perhaps beyond all other Poets, of all Ages and Countries, he deserves in this particular to be the most universally admired.

And this Choice of Circumstances; if any Strefs can be laid on the Opinion of LONGINUS, that great Director of our Taste and Judgment, renders a Composition truly noble and sublime*. The most remarkable Pieces of this Sort, are, *The Furniture of a Woman's Mind*; BETTY the Grizette; *The Journal of a Modern Lady*; His Poem on reading Dr. YOUNG' Satyres; MORDANTO; *The Description of a City Shower*; *The Description of Quilca*; *The Description of the Morning*; and, *The Place of the Damned*. This Power of the Mind gave him also that desperate Hand, as POPE terms it, in taking off all Sorts of Characters. To omit for the present those of a political Nature; vid. *The Progress of Poetry*; *The Second Part of TRAULUS*; *The Progress of Love*; *The Character of CORINNA*; and, *The Beautiful young Nymph just going to Bed*; where you will find that his Imagination could even dream in the Character of an old battered Strumpet. And, from the same inexhaustible Fund of Wit, he acquired the historick Arts both of designing and colouring, either in Groups, or in single Portraits. How exact, how lively, and spirited, is that Group of Figures in *The Journal of a Modern Lady*?

BUT let me now a While survey
Our Madam o'er her ev'ning Tea;

Surrounded

* Vid. LONGIN. Sect. 10.

Surrounded with her noisy Clans
Of Prudes, Coquets, and Harridans;
When frightened at the clam'rous Crew,
Away the GOD of *Silence* flew,
And fair DISCRETION left the Place,
And MODESTY with blushing Face:
Now enters over-weening PRIDE,
And SCANDAL, ever gaping wide;
HYPOCRISY with Frown severe,
SCURRILITY with gibing Air;
Rude LAUGHTER seeming like to burst;
And MALICE always judging worst;
And VANITY with Pocket Glass;
And IMPUDENCE with Front of Brass;
And study'd AFFECTATION came,
Each Limb and Feature out of Frame:
While IGNORACE, with Brain of Lead,
Flew hov'ring o'er each female Head.

AND for a single Portrait, if we consider
the Design, the Attitude, the Drapery, or
the colouring, what is it that can excel the
Representation of CASSIUS in *The Tragical
Elegy*?

HE seem'd as just crept out of Bed;
One greasy Stocking round his Head;
The other he sat down to darn
With Threads of diff'rent colour'd Yarn.
His Breeches torn, exposing wide
A ragged Shirt, and tawny Hyde.

Scorcht were his Shins, his Legs were bare,
 But, well embrown'd with Dirt and Hair.
 A Rug was o'er his Shoulders thrown;
 A Rug; for Night Gown he had none.
 His J—d-n stood in Manner fitting
 Between his Legs, to spew or spit in.
 His antient Pipe in Sable dy'd,
 And half unsmoakt, lay by his Side.

HIM, thus accoutr'd PETER found,
 With Eyes in Smoak and weeping drown'd;
 The Leavings of his last Night Pot
 On Embers plac'd, to drink it hot.

THROUGHOUT all his poetical Writings, although many of them be dedicated immediately to the Fair Sex, there cannot be found, to the best of my Recollection, one single Distich, address'd in the Character of a Lover to any one Person. If he writ any Poems of that Sort in his younger Days, they must have been destroyed, if they be not concealed. Those Verses upon Women, which are deemed the most satyrical, were written principally with a View to correct their Foibles, to improve their Taste, and to make them as agreeable Companions at Three-score, as at the Age of Five and Twenty: And, by what I can hear, the most exceptionable of his Poems in that Way have produced some very extraordinary Effects in the polite World; which was in Truth the ultimate Design of his writing
The

The Lady's Dressing Room, and other Pieces, which are acknowledged to be somewhat liable to Censure on Account of their Indelicacy.

AMONG the Admirers of Dr. SWIFT many have compared him to HORACE, making proper Allowances for the respective Ages in which they severally flourished. The Resemblance however between them is not so exceedingly strong, as that a Similitude and Manner of writing could have excited the least Degree of Emulation between them, further than to be equally renowned for their peculiar Excellencies. Each of them had, independent of what is generally called a fine Taste, a thorough Knowledge of the World, superadded to an Abundance of Learning. Both the one and the other of these Great Men held the numerous Tribe of Poets*, as well as that motley Generation of Men called Criticks, in the utmost Contempt†; and at the same Time have manifested themselves to be incomparable

S 4

rable

* Vid. SWIFT's Progress of Poetry; his Rhapsody; and other Pieces.

† Till *Criticks* blame, and *Judges* praise,
The Poet cannot claim his Bays.
On me, when Dunces are satyrick,
I take it for a Panegyrick;
Hated by Fools, and Fools to hate,
Be that my *Motto* and my Fate.

SWIFT.

rable Judges of all that is truly excellent, whether in Books or Men. Neither of them had the least Regard for the STOICKS: And whatever may be said of their being of the EPICUREAN Taste, which, if rightly understood, is far from being inconsistent with the highest Virtue; neither of them was attached to any particular System of Philosophy. HOMER was the darling Author both of HORACE and SWIFT. HORACE declares in his Epistle to LOLLIVS, that HOMER had abundantly more good Sense and Wisdom than all the Philosophers; and SWIFT's Opinion was, that HOMER had more Genius than all the rest of the World put together*. Yet neither the one nor the other of them have attempted to imitate his Manner; but, like Heroes of a bold and true Spirit, have industriously followed the Bent of Nature, and struck out Originals of their own†. But, however strong

*q. on Aristotle
p. 297 n.*

* These were SWIFT's own Words in a Conversation with the Author about three or four and twenty Years ago, upon the Merits of HOMER.

† O imitatores, servum pecus, ut mihi sæpe Bilem, sæpe jocum, vestri movere tumultus! Libera per vacuum posui vestigia princeps; Non aliena meo pressi pede. Qui sibi fudit Dux, regit examen. Parios ego primus iambos Ostendi Latio. ————— HOR. l. i. ep. 19.

Agreeable

strong may be supposed the Resemblance between HORACE and SWIFT, they were in Fact upon the whole quite different Men. Their Tempers, their Complexions, and their Fortunes were totally unlike. Each of them had in many Respects greatly the Advantage of the other.

BUT, to confine these Remarks within the Limits of their Excursions in the poetick Fields. Poetry was in HORACE the Business of his Life; every Desire; every Comfort; and every Passion of his Mind, were centered in the MUSES: He followed the Example of the *Greek Poets*, *præter laudem nullius avaris* *. Poetry in SWIFT was only an Appendage to his Character: He wore it as an Emblem of Wit and Spirit, which gave him an Air of Grandeur in the Republick of Letters. HORACE by diverting his Thoughts from all sublunary Affairs,
and

Agreeable to the same Spirit SWIFT has chosen for his Motto to the *Tale of a Tub* these Words of LUCRETIVS;

—— Juvatque novas decerpere flores,
Insignemque meo capiti petere inde coronam,
Unde prius nulli velarint tempora musæ. Lib. 1.

And again more expressly in another Place;
ARBUTHNOT is no more my Friend,
Who dares to Irony pretend;
Which I was born to introduce,
Refin'd it first, and shew'd its Use,

* Art. poet. v. 324.

and perpetually ranging about from Flower to Flower, among the Gardens, and Groves, and Wilderesses of the *Greeks*, with infinite Labour extracted, like an industrious Bee, the Quintessence of their Sweets †; and by frequently experimenting all the Changes of Harmony, is deservedly the Joy and Admiration of the poetical World for the Musick of his Lines, and the Variety of his Numbers. His Addresses to the EMPEROR; to AGRIPPA; to POLLIO; and his Panegyrick on DRUSUS; are prodigiously sublime. But his Hymns to the MUSES; to MERCURY; to PAN; to APOLLO and DIANA; to VENUS; to his LYRE; and to BACCHUS; are absolutely Raptures of Poetry, even the divine Spirit of that *amabilis Insania* *, *that delightful Madness*, which is only to be felt, impossible to be described. His Verses nevertheless are but few in Number, the whole of his Works at a random Computation amounting only to about seven Thousand Lines, whereof not above one Half are of that Species of Poetry, on which he desired to fix all his Pretensions to Fame. And

it

† — Ego apis Matinæ
More modoque

Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum, circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas, operosa parvus,

Carmina fingo. Lib. 4. Od. 2.

* Lib. 3. Od. 4.

it was upon these only that he bestowed the greater Part of his Life. SWIFT, on the contrary, from the Age of one and twenty was deeply immersed in Politicks during his whole Life; sometimes fighting the Battles of Church and State against a virulent, opposing Faction, which threatened to undermine the Constitution; sometimes resisting the Torrent of Ecclesiastical, and frequently the Torrent of *Ministerial* Power; whenever the Rights of the CLERGY, or the Liberties of his COUNTRY, were occasionally invaded; and generally fighting with Beasts of one Species or other, like a fierce and bold Champion, resolutely bent on either Death or Victory: Yet still he could find Opportunities, by snatching Hours of Leisure, to write Poetry for his Amusement. He had read many of the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets; relished and admired what was agreeable to his own Taste; but never devoted either his Thoughts or his Time to APOLLO and the MUSES. Throughout his whole Works there is no such Thing as an Ode to CALLIOPE; to MERCURY; to VENUS; to APOLLO and DIANA; to his LYRE; to BACCHUS; or to PAN: Nothing, which was ever intended as a Rapure of Poetry. Is it not then somewhat very amazing, if we consider him in this fair and true Light, that he should produce, by the meer Force of Taste and Abilities, without any laboured

Correction

Correction at all, such Wonders in the poetick Strain, as to make any, the most partial of his Admirers, not only prefer him to all the Poets of these latter Centuries, but compare him to that immortal Genius of the AUGUSTAN Age, whose whole Delight, Speculation, and Amusement, whether in Bed or in the Fields *, was in meditating, writing, polishing, or correcting his Verses?

HOWEVER, it is impossible to remark on the poetical Writings of Dr. SWIFT without being somewhat particular on that Piece, entitled CADENUS and VANESSA; a Poem, which is built on the finest Model; supported with infinite Humour, Wit, and Gaiety; embellished with Ideas the most lovely and delicate; beautifully adorned with Variety of the most attractive Images; and conducted throughout the Whole with such perfect Regularity, that beyond all other Pieces, whether of Dr. SWIFT, or any Poet that ever writ in *English*, it appears calculated to abide the severest Examination of Criticks.

IN the Apparatus of this Poem we find, that VENUS the Goddess of Love and Beauty, having Cause to be afraid, upon hearing the Merits of a Trial between the NYMPHS and

* ——— Neque enim, cum lectulus, aut me
Porticus excepit, desum mihi: * * * *

* * * * hęc ego mecum

Compressis agito labris: ubi quid datur otii,
Illudo chartis. ——— Lib. 1, Sat. 4.

and SHEPHERDS, that her Sovereignty might be called in Question on Account of that wretched corrupted Taste, which prevails among the Youth of both Sexes ; resolves on a political Expedient to maintain the Dignity of her Throne, and to reduce her rebellious Subjects unto their Loyalty, their Chains, and their Obedience.

Now this Debate, which was spun out for sixteen Years between the NYMPHS and SHEPHERDS, is supposed to have commenced only some few Days before the Birth of VANESSA. But, to avoid transcribing whole Pages after Pages from the Poem itself, to which I refer the curious; the *Cyprian* Queen having, in order to try an Experiment, selected VANESSA upon the Day of her Birth from all the rest of the little Female World, adorns her with every Grace and Beauty that is supposed to attract the Admiration of the Shepherds. And, to compleat her Design, she prevails on the *Goddeſs of Learning* (although by a Stratagem) to pour down all her Gifts into the Bosom of this delightful Girl.

But, to the World's perpetual Shame,
The *Queen of Beauty* lost her Aim.
Too late with Grief she understood,
PALLAS had done more Harm than Good :
For great Examples are but vain,
Where Ignorance begets Disdain.

Both

Both Sexes, arm'd with Guilt and Spite,
 Against VANESSA'S Power unite;
 To copy her few Nymphs aspir'd;
 Her Virtues fewer Swains admir'd:
 So, Stars beyond a certain Height,
 Give Mortals neither Heat nor Light.

HERE let us stop for a few Minutes, and take an impartial View of this enchanting Fair. With Regard to the Beauty, the Elegance, the Graces, and the Sweetness of her Person, she is beyond all Contradiction, to use an Expression of PARNEL,

All bright as an Angel new-dropt from
 the Skies.

And with Regard to the Accomplishments of the Mind; her Soul is endued with Knowledge, Judgment, Wit, Decency, Modesty, Truth, Justice, Fortitude, Honour, Politeness, Generosity, Wisdom, and every other Virtue, which can possibly enter into the Composition of the most illustrious Character. She had a Soul worthy to be the Inhabitant of so beautiful, so angelick a Mansion. However, to speak as a Critick, (although I shall never desire to be ranked among that Fraternity) it matters not, whether VANESSA be a real or a fictitious Character. If indeed the Character be drawn from real Life, we must insist upon it, that VANESSA behaved herself throughout all the
 Habitudes

Habitudes and Vicissitudes of Life with unblemished Honour; as in Truth her Character would not otherwise have been even poetically just; and consequently the Poem, instead of being universally admired for its superior Excellencies, would (to speak in the stile of Criticks) have been damned on its first Appearance for its Inaccuracies and Inconsistencies. On the other Hand, if the Character be fictitious, the Whole is a Fable; and consequently there never existed any such Person as the charming VANESSA. It is certain, however, that among the Poets we frequently meet with Characters, especially when Compliments are addressed to some particular Favourites in the *Grand Monde*, which are partly *real*, and partly *fictitious*. What I mean by *real* is, when some Person, really and truly existing, is generally understood to be the Object of the Poet's Complaisance; and what I mean by *fictitious* is, when the Poet, without any Regard to Truth, elegantly displays the Fineness and Delicacy of his own Taste, in all the Caresses of Gallantry, Politeness, Courtship, and Address, unto this *real* not *imaginary* Lady. For Example; were a Poet to insert the Name of some little, Nut-brown, trifling Girl, under the Portrait of all that is beautiful, accomplished, and adorable in the fairest of the Creation; his Compliment would nevertheless be extremely

ly polite ; no Matter for the Resemblance : Pictures we all know are designed for Posterity ; and Posterity cares not, whether in Fact the Picture was drawn from the Life, or was only imaginary. They see ; they are pleased ; they enquire no further. The most remarkable Instance of this Kind that we know of among all the Poets, whether antient or modern, is that of PRIOR's CHLOE, who was a chearful, gay, facetious, old Woman, that used to laugh with a Profusion of Good-humour, until she was almost ready to dye, at the conceit of her being a Poet's Flame. And PRIOR, we may be sure, was equally delighted with the Excellence of her Understanding. VANESSA was perhaps another remarkable Instance of this Kind : For, as the Poet hath expressly declared, that "*her Name on Earth shall not be told,*" we are by no Means at Liberty to form any Conjectures about her. It is affirmed however, that VANESSA was in Love with CADENUS ; and declared her Passion to him after a strange Manner. That VANESSA might have liked CADENUS, at least the poetical VANESSA, we cannot make any Sort of Doubt, because we are expressly told so. The Manner in which she declared her Passion to him, is only to be collected from the Poem itself, wherein we find, that after an Apology founded on Maxims truly philosophical,

sophical, she reveals her Sentiments in the following Terms ;

I knew by what you said and writ,
How dang'rous Things were Men of Wit;
You caution'd me against their Charms,
But never gave me equal Arms:
Your Lessons found the weakest Part,
Aim'd at the Head, and reach'd the Heart.

The Remainder of the Conversation between CADENUS and VANESSA, for Half a Dozen Pages together, is evidently nothing more than a Flight of Imagination, wholly designed for the Entertainment of those who have a Relish for Composition and a Taste for Poetry. But, supposing it was some real VANESSA that liked CADENUS ; or, in plain Terms, supposing that Miss VANHOMRIGH had a Passion for Dr. SWIFT : Is there any Crime in Love ? Far from it : The Voice of GOD ; and the Voice of NATURE, speak the direct contrary. The worst that can be said of it is, that VANESSA, who had really and truly been educated under the Inspection of CADENUS, (a Man beyond all others upon Earth, whose Delight was to give Instruction to young People, and especially to young Women) had not sufficiently considered, that in Love we are all Sportsmen, careless of Joys that are within our Reach, and perpetually driving after the flying Game.

T
Never.

Nevertheless, to maintain the Dignity of her Sex, and to apologize for this little Failure in Point of Discretion (that cool, sober Quality, not Virtue of the Mind; which frequently, or rather notoriously presides in that Breast, where every humane, generous, and spirited Affection of the Soul are wanting) she availeth herself of the DOCTOR's own Maxims, before she adventures to impart the most tender of her Sentiments to an old experienced Man, whose Heart, like a Rock of Adamant, was incapable of Impressions.

She well remember'd to her Cost,
That all his Lessons were not lost.
Two Maxims she could still produce,
And sad Experience taught their Use:
That Virtue pleas'd by being shewn,
Knows nothing which it dare not own;
Can make us without Fear disclose
Our inmost Secrets to our Foes:
That common Forms were not design'd
Directors to a noble Mind.
Now, said the Nymph, &c.

HOWEVER, in Justice to the Honour and Reputation of VANESSA, we are obliged to remark, that CADENUS from his earliest Youth had been always a Courtier of the Women, as far as Words, and Terms, and Politeness, and Gallantry without professing
any

any Degree of Sincerity, Constancy, and Love, can recommend a Cavalier to their Service. And this we are told in the following Lines;

CADENUS, common Forms apart,
In ev'ry Scene had kept his Heart.
Had sigh'd and languish'd, vow'd and writ,
For Pastime, or to shew his Wit.

But, sure it is, that Courtship and Address, without any Protestations of Fidelity and Love, may be carried somewhat too far; as the Deportment of CADENUS to the beautiful and accomplish'd VANESSA, in this poetical Representation of Gallantry, sufficiently demonstrates. Is it therefore any Matter of Astonishment, that VANESSA (before whom CADENUS might have sigh'd and languish'd, and to whom at particular Times he might have both vow'd and written) should have been encouraged to hope, as she liked his Person, and was enamour'd of his Writings, that she might have carried off so glorious a Prize from all the rest of her Cotemporaries? Allowing this to have been the Case, which is perhaps agreeable to Truth, as well as to common Report, VANESSA's Declaration to her admired CADENUS, may without Violence be interpreted into a gentle Demand of those tender Affections, which, from the Current of his

Behaviour towards her, she had a Right to expect.

HOWEVER, it is said by the Author of the Remarks, " that the fair VANESSA made a
 " surprizing Progress in the philosophical
 " Doctrines, which she had received from
 " her Preceptor. His Rules were certainly
 " of a most extraordinary Kind. He taught
 " her that Vice, as soon as it defied Shame,
 " was immediately changed into Virtue."
 If CADENUS ever instilled that Maxim into the Soul of VANESSA, we must, I am afraid, give him intirely up to Censure, as an Agent for the Prince of Darknes: And, if CADENUS himself were of that Opinion, he must necessarily have admired CHARTRES, *who daily committed Crimes worthy of the Gibbet **, for being the most virtuous of all human Race, meerly on Account of his innumerable Vices, which by the Power of a *matchless Impudence* were immediately changed into Virtues. But, without any Racking, or Transmutation of Words, SWIFT's Maxim was;

That Virtue pleas'd by being shown,
 Knows nothing which it dare not own;
 Can make us without fear disclose
 Our inmost Secrets to our Foes.

a Maxim, which every Man of Honour would instil into the Hearts of his Children;
 and

* Vid. Arbuth. Epitaph on CHARTRES.

and which SWIFT himself hath occasionally expressed in other Terms highly advantageous, *on seeing Verses written upon Windows in Inns ;*

The Sage, who said he should be proud
Of Windows in his Breast ;
Because he ne'er one Thought allow'd
That might not be confest :
His Window scrawl'd by ev'ry Rake,
His Breast again would cover,
And fairly bid the D—l take
The Di'mond and the Lover.

And such were the noble Sentiments of that old *Roman*, I forget his Name, whose Reply to an Architect could have proceeded only from the Mouth of an Hero. The Architect made him an Offer, upon his giving him so much Money, to contrive a House for him in such a Manner, as that none from abroad should possibly look into it. I will give you double the Sum, replied the Hero, if you will contrive a House for me in such a Manner, as that every one that pleases may look into every Corner of it.

As to the second Rule of CADENUS,
“ that vulgar Forms [*the Critick should rather*
“ *have said, according to his own Explication*
“ *in the subsequent Page, that the Rules of*
“ Honour and Virtue] were not binding
“ upon certain choice Spirits [*among the Fe-*
T 3 “ male

“*male Sex*”] to whom either the Writings, “or the Persons of Men of Wit were acceptable.” What a glorious Sentiment for an old DOCTOR OF DIVINITY to impart unto a fine Lady! however indeed, I cannot but think my self restrained by the Rules of Decency from enlarging upon such Topicks; not that I presume any Commentaries of mine, supposing that Dr. SWIFT had been a Man of Intrigue, could have been so exceedingly entertaining to the Publick, as to make them “wish that CADE-
“NUS had as many Wives and Mistresses
“as SOLOMON, in order to furnish me with
“perpetual Materials for the History of a
“Lady.” But, this Maxim of the Doctor’s, like the foregoing, is so clear and plain, that it can no more be tortured into an Encouragement to Vice, than the second Commandment into an Encouragement to Idolatry. His Maxim was,

That common Forms were not design’d
Directors to a noble Mind.

But, where do we find in these Lines one Syllable relating either to Vice or Virtue? Are COMMON FORMS either *Vices* or *Virtues*? Whoever can imagine them to be either the one or the other, must have a certain Vacuity in his Brain for the Reception of the most gross and palpable Absurdities. However,

ever, Dr. SWIFT, when he writ to the Earl of OXFORD in the Tower some Time before his Trial, had a Sentiment not very unlike unto the above Maxim ;

Virtue, to crown her Fav'rites, loves to try
Some new unbeaten Passage to the Sky ;
Where Jove a Seat among the Gods will
give
To those, who die for meriting to live.

AND, immediately afterwards the Critick subjoins ; “ so unaccountable a Conduct in “ CADENUS” [*meaning, that he would not comprehend the Overtures of VANESSA*] “ may “ be thought rather to proceed from De- “ fects in Nature, than from the scrupulous “ Difficulties of a tender Conscience.” No- thing surely can equal the Sagacity of this Remark, but the Pleasantry which accom- panies it: The poetical VANESSA, a Wo- man of Fortune *, dropt an Idea, whereby she signified to her admired CADENUS, whose Revenue was at that Time very slen- der and precarious †, that if he would please

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to

* Five Thousand Guineas in her Purse ;
The Doctor might have fancied worse.

† The Poem of CADENUS and VANESSA was written in the Year 1712, about a Year before Dr. SWIFT was made Dean of St. PATRICK'S ; but the Scene of it was in the Year 1711.

VANESSA, not in Years a Score,
Dreams on a Gown of Forty-four.

to make his Addresses to her, they would not be unacceptable. And so the DOCTOR is blamed for not endeavouring to seduce a Woman of Honour, who had given him so fair an Advantage, to the meanest, and the most infamous of all other Compliances. For, that a Man of Wit, and a DOCTOR of Divinity, should have had any *scrupulous Difficulties arising from a tender Conscience* about Affairs of that Kind, is too ridiculous and absurd to be conceived; and therefore his Opposition to the Allurements of so bright a Flame, could only have proceeded from the *excessive coldness of his Nature*. But, lest his Reputation for Gallantry should have suffered among Rakes, Profligates, and Coxcombs; it is supposed that he has thrown out "an Insinuation against VANESSA, not so much perhaps intended to wound her Reputation, as to save his own."

But what Success VANESSA met,
Is to the World a Secret yet:
Whether the Nymph to please her Swain,
Talks in a high romantick Strain;
Or whether he at last descends
To act with less seraphick Ends;
Or, to compound the Bus'ness, whether
They temper Love and Books together;
Must never to Mankind be told,
Nor shall the conscious Muse unfold.

" It

" It is impossible (says the Critick) to
 " read this cruel Hint without great Indig-
 " nation against the *conscious Muse*." But,
 is there no Allowance to be made for the
 Rants and Vagaries of an heteroclite Genius?
 Or, would any Poet, who had the least Spark
 of Honour, supposing he had been so unfor-
 tunate as to have had Amours with a Lady,
 have told the Story, or given the least Inti-
 mation of it? Is one Part of a Poem " to be
 " thought fine Painting, but, in general
 " fictitious," and another Part of the same
 to be interpreted, by the racking and tor-
 turing of a Conjecture, into the most solid,
 prosaick, and impure of all imaginable Ideas?
 However, do not, in Fact, all professed Ad-
 mirers of particular Women temper Love
 and other Amusements together in the Days
 of Courtship? If then CADENUS and VA-
 NESSA be conjectured to have tempered Love
 and Books together; why should they be
 supposed to have transgressed the Rules of
 Honour beyond the rest of the World?
 But, allowing it were just that our Indigna-
 tion should rise against the *conscious Muse*
 (as indeed, to confess a Truth which I have
 been told very lately, Miss VANHOMRIGH
 herself was extreamly angry with the Doc-
 TOR on Account of these Lines) the higher
 surely that our Indignation should be in-
 flamed against her, the more ought VANES-
 SA to be cleared and justified. And yet, the
 same

same individual Author, who saith *it is impossible to read this cruel Hint without great Indignation against the CONSCIOUS MUSE*, instead of engaging himself generously in the Defence of a Lady's Honour, hath exerted his whole Abilities to make her compleatly infamous. And, with this Intention, that nothing might be omitted within the Sphere of his Criticism, he hath by no Means forgotten to scatter about some disdainful Reflexions, *pro solitâ humanitate suâ*, to the Prejudice and Degradation of her Parents: And having thus almost cleared the Way for assaulting the Reputation of a Lady, he makes VANESSA and her Sister MARY, upon the decease of their Mother, whose only Fault was being somewhat too profuse in keeping up a Correspondence with the best Company in *England*, "hasten back in all Secrecy to *Ireland*, beginning their Journey, on a *Sunday*, to avoid the Interruption, and Importunities of a certain fierce Kind of Animals called Bailiffs, who are not only sworn Foes to Wit and Gaiety, but whose Tyranny, although it could not have reached the deified VANESSA, might have been very fatal to ESTHER VANHOMRIGH." What a CICERONIAN Amplification is here! How delightfully one Expression corroborating another, strikes an Impression upon the Mind; swells upon the Imagination; and in spite of our Com-

passion

passion to those who are in Peril of a Jayl, takes Possession of our Memories with a Sneer at the unfortunate.

THE Critick, having now removed all Obstructions, vigorously assails the Character of VANESSA. He makes her Vanity, like a Train of Artillery, "batter down all Restraints of Modesty, and carry away every Seed of Virtue;" he declares that she was "happy in the Thoughts of being reputed SWIFT's Concubine:" He makes her philosophize in the Character of MESSALINA; "Nature, said VANESSA, abhors a vacuum, and Nature ought always to be obeyed;" and afterwards communicate these Sentiments to her Tutor. But, CADENUS, "not seeming to comprehend her Meaning, nor to conceive her *distinctio rationis*," which I presume is *Latin* for asking the Question, "answered her in the *non-essential modes*;" i. e. gave her to understand in a very polite Manner, that he was totally unacquainted with *Arabick*.

IT is likewise affirmed by the Critick, that VANESSA "had long thrown away the gentle Lenitives of Virtue; that she had utterly destroyed her Character and her Conscience" [by the oddest Means that perhaps were ever imagined, even by the excessive Coldness of her Preceptor; or, if you would rather have it so, by his Defects in Nature] "and was fallen a Prey to the Hor-

"ror

“ror of her own Thoughts:” And at last in the Abundance of his wonted Charity, he makes her “perish under all the Agonies of Despair; a miserable Example of an ill-spent Life, fantastick Wit, visionary Schemes, and Female Weakness.”

PERHAPS it was not unlucky for the Quiet of VANESSA, that when the Author of the *Remarks* had proceeded thus far, his Paper was not of a Size to contain further Lucubrations. Had he pursued her into the Kingdom of the *Ghosts*, we know not what Rocks and Torments might have been contrived to afflict her. But, fortunately his Paper scarce allowed him Room for the *affectionate Name of*, &c.

BUT, in what Manner shall we reconcile this Critick's peremptory Condemnation of VANESSA with what he asserted but a Page or two before; wherein he declares, “that the particular Conversation of CADENUS and VANESSA, as it passed without Witnesses, must for ever remain unknown?” I protest for my own Part, I am strangely at a Loss, having by no Means Sagacity enough to clear him of Inconsistency; unless it be a general Maxim, which I presume it is, that in criticising the Works and the Lives of others (provided they be six Foot under Ground) we are always to suppose the worst.

HAVING

HAVING written thus far in Vindication of a Lady's Honour, without any Assistance from private Anecdotes; I had some Curiosity to acquaint myself with the Particulars of Miss VANHOMRIGH's Life and Story; not, I confess, with any remote Design, if Truth had borne hard against her, to blacken the Memory of the unfortunate; but still with an Intention, as far as Truth could apologize in her Favour, but no further, to remove the Aspersions lately thrown upon her Fame. And accordingly having applied for Instructions to some two or three Gentlemen of Honour and Veracity, whose Accounts, I do presume, are beyond all others the most to be relied on for being unquestionably authentick, I have at last gathered up the following particulars.

MR. BARTHOLOMEW VANHOMRIGH, first a Merchant of *Amsterdam*, and afterwards a Merchant of *Dublin* in the Reigns of CHARLES and JAMES the Second; was, upon his Majesty King WILLIAM's Expedition into *Ireland*, appointed *Commissary of the Stores*, an Employment supposed to have been worth, during the Continuance of the War, six thousand Pounds *per Annum*. What Fortune he possessed before the Revolution, is not certainly known: His Circumstances, however, must at least in Appearance have been in a prosperous Way, and his Credit firmly

firmly established; otherwise an Employment, whereon so much depended, would never have been conferred upon him. And after the Affairs of *Ireland* were settled, he was appointed *Muste-Master-General*, and a *Commissioner of the Revenue*; which Employments he held until the Time of his Decease in the Year 1703.

WE are told by the Author of the *Remarks*, "that Miss VANHOMRIGH's Mother, " whose Name he forgets, was born in *Ireland* of very mean Extraction." But, according to the Information I have received, which I think unquestionable, Mr. VANHOMRIGH some Time about the Year 1685 married a young Lady, that was born in *Dublin* of *English* Parents: She was sole Heiress of Mr. STONE the *Commissioner*, whose Brother was *Accomptant-General* of *Ireland*. But, as her Father had been an expensive Man, her Fortune, I think, did not amount to above five Hundred Pounds, which at the Time of her Marriage was paid to Mr. VANHOMRIGH by her Uncle the *Accomptant-General*, who was her Father's Executor. She appears to have been a Woman of Politeness and Good-Breeding; for in the latter Part of the QUEEN's Reign she was visited by many of the first Quality in *England*. Mrs. VANHOMRIGH and her Daughters are mentioned fifty Times by
Dr.

Dr. SWIFT in his Letters to Mrs. JOHNSON*, in one of which dated *February 26, 1710-11*, now lying before me, are the following Words; "Sir ANDREW FOUNTAINE and I
 "dined by Invitation [*To-day*] with Mrs.
 "VANHOMRIGH.—They keep as good
 "Female Company as I do Male. I see
 "all the Drabs of Quality of this End of
 "the Town with them. I saw two Lady
 "BETTYS there this Afternoon. The
 "Beauty of one, the Good-Breeding and
 "Nature of both, and the Wit of neither,
 "would have made a fine Woman." And
March

* These Letters, which are in Number about 38, are all of them, except the first, written in the Manner of Journals, each containing about a Fortnight's News, regularly dated every Day; and many of them are extremely curious. They were lent to Mr. SWIFT by a Lady, who found them accidentally about Half a Year ago among a Parcel of Papers given to her by the Doctor in the Year 1738. The rest of them, which are supposed to be about twice as many, are in all Probability still in the Hands of those, who are in the Possession of the Doctor's Effects. But, Mr. SWIFT, although he had frequently solicited the Favour within these last three Years, never could get a sight of them; notwithstanding that he himself was the Person, who saved them from being utterly destroyed in the Year 1741. But, the original Cause of this Politeness to Mr. SWIFT, will perhaps appear in one of the subsequent Chapters.

*Mrs. Montagu
 Whitehead*

*Dr. John
 Lyon?*

*When Swift
 was put
 under a
 guardian?*

March the 1st the same Year ; “ I dined
 “ To-day at Mrs. VANHOMRIGH’s, being
 “ a rainy Day*, and Lady BETTY BUT-
 “ LER knowing it, sent to let me know she
 “ expected my Company in the Evening,
 “ where the VANS (so we called them)
 “ were to be. The Dutchess and she do
 “ not go over this Summer with the Duke.”
 Mrs. VANHOMRIGH’s chief Intimates among
 the Men, as far as I can observe, were Sir
 ANDREW FOUNTAINE and Dr. SWIFT.
 And, by Means of Dr. SWIFT she became
 also acquainted in those Times with Mr.
 FORD of *Wood-Park* in the Kingdom of
Ireland, and with the famous Dr. BERKE-
 LEY, afterwards Bishop of *Cloyne*.

BUT, to return from this Digression to the
 Affairs of her Husband. Immediately after
 the Wars of *Ireland*, Mr. VANHOMRIGH’s
 Fortune was in a Condition so thriving and
 prosperous, that he laid out ten or twelve
 Thousand Pounds in the Purchase of forfeit-
 ed Lands ; the yearly Revenue whereof
 added to the Profits of his Appointments,
 must have encreased his Fortune to a good
 deal above two Thousand Pounds *per Annum*,
 which

* Dr. SWIFT’s Lodgings in *Bury-street* were
 within five Doors of Mrs. VANHOMRIGH’s ;
 where he was equally intimate and free to go in
 and out when he pleased, as if he had been her
 Friend and her Brother : as appears from num-
 berless Passages in the abovementioned Letters.

which in those Days was intrinsically worth at least three Times what the like Fortune would be at present: Wherefore it must be granted, that Mr. VANHOMRIGH was so far from accumulating Wealth by Parsimony and Prudence; that he was very improvident, or rather very extravagant, if the whole Fortune which he left behind him in the Year 1703, after he had been a *Commissioner of the Revenue* and *Muste-Master-General* for thirteen Years, amounted in Value (his Purchase of forfeited Lands included) to nothing more than 16000 Pounds. But, as that is a Point of no Consequence; I shall only observe, that Mrs. VANHOMRIGH, after the Death of her two Sons (the younger of whom left his Fortune after the Decease of his Sisters to Mr. PETER PARTINGTON of *Dublin*, he taking the Name of VANHOMRIGH) went over with her Daughters to live at *London* in the Year 1709; where it is allowed that her Expences greatly exceeded the Bounds of her Income, her Husband's Executor having supplied her with Money to the Prejudice of her Childrens Fortunes. She died at *London* in the Year 1714, leaving some Debts unpaid. Upon hearing this Account, I had the Curiosity to ask, whether Miss VANHOMRIGH and her Sister were obliged to abscond, as I presumed the Debts of their Mother could not affect their Liberty? In

Since 1690

U

Answer

Answer to this Question I was told, that Mrs. VANHOMRIGH had left her Daughters joint Executrices, a troublesome Office indeed, which however the Situation of their Affairs obliged them to accept: By which Means they became subject to an Arrest in that Character; which however, they need not have been afraid of, had they been well advised; for, on Application to the Courts of Law they would immediately have been released, had they chanced to have been arrested in *London* for their Mother's Debts. In the Year 1715 they returned to *Ireland*; and soon after the younger Sister died, leaving VANESSA, or Mrs. ESTHER VANHOMRIGH in full Possession of all that remained of the whole Fortune belonging to her Father, Mr. PARTINGTON's Right to the Estate in Reversion only excepted. Mrs. ESTHER VANHOMRIGH was engaged, I think, in a Law Suit with her Father's Executor; which, among other Shocks and Defalcations in her Revenue, obliged her to live retired in a frugal Manner. She was intimately acquainted, however, with many Families of Rank and Fortune in *Dublin* (a City as worthily remarkable for the unblemished Honour of the Female World, as for the Contempt which is thrown universally upon any particular Person, who has given the least Colour to be suspected of an Intrigue) and more especially she often visited the

the late Mrs. CONOLLY, a Lady of great Decorum, and very high Reputation; where she used to meet with Abundance of good Company; which was one Inducement for repeating her Visits there more frequently perhaps than any where else. She was, I believe, not averse from being acquainted with Men of Learning and Abilities: The late Bishop of Cloyne, the late Judge LINDSAY, and the Lord Chief Justice MARLAY, were among the Number of her Friends.

FOR some Time after Miss VANHOMRIGH returned to *Ireland* she was frequently visited by Dr. SWIFT; whose Delight was to see what Progress she had made in Literature, and particularly to re-examine her in those Books, which he had recommended to her Perusal in former Days. But, the DOCTOR, observing that her Passion for him rather encreased than diminished, became from the Year 1716 abundantly more sparing in his Visits; and by all the Efforts and Dissuaves in his Power vainly endeavoured to estrange her Thoughts from all romantic Ideas. Among other Dissuaves to VANESSA, he ventured so far in the Summer of the Year 1716 as to pay her a Visit in Company with Mr. Dean WINTER, who was her professed Admirer; than which it is impossible that any Thing could have been more grating to the Soul of this enamoured Fair; as it was equal in Appearance to a

manifest Resignation of all Right and Claim to her Affections. This Gentleman, who had an Estate of six or eight hundred Pounds *per Annum*, besides three hundred Pounds a Year Preferments in the Church, made some Overtures of Marriage to Miss VANHOMRIGH about this Period of Time: But, her Affections were so intirely devoted to her old Præceptor, that she would not so much as hearken to his Proposal. I shall only observe, how unreasonable it is to imagine, that Dean WINTER, a Gentleman of Fortune, who by all Accounts was far from not being sufficiently stocked with Pride, would have made Proposals of Marriage to any Woman, "that was happy in the Thoughts of being SWIFT's Concubine." Neither by any Sort of Persuasions, although frequently solicited, would Miss VANHOMRIGH consent to receive the Addresses of Dr. PRICE*, who lived at *Cellbridge*, and must have been acquainted with her whole Story and Character.

I HAVE

* Dr. PRICE was at that Time the particular Friend and Favourite of old Mr. CONOLLY, the Speaker of the House of Commons of *Ireland*. What his Fortune was in those Days, I know not; but sure it is, that he was in the high Road to Preferment. He was afterwards Bishop of *Meath*, and died Archbishop of *Cashel* some few Years ago.

I HAVE been assured, that Miss VANHOM-
RIGH was in her general Converse with the
World, as far from encouraging any Stile of
Address, inconsistent with the Rules of Ho-
nour and Good-breeding, as any Woman
alive. Neither can it be said, if any Conclu-
sions may be drawn from her Appearance
and Behaviour in *Ireland*, that she was either
a vain Woman, or fond of Dress; although
she was extreamly nice and delicate, as well
in the Cleanliness of her Person, as in every
Thing she wore. Her only Misfortune was,
that she had a Passion for Dr. SWIFT, which
was not to be conquered; although it is a
Point incontestable, that Dr. SWIFT, had
never once made her the most distant Over-
tures of Marriage. And this Passion (her
Friends, I hope, will excuse me for assert-
ing it) was in all Probability the remote
Cause of her Death. She languished, I
think, for some Years, and fell into a Con-
sumption; neither, as I have heard, was she
convinced that Dr. SWIFT was married to
Mrs. JOHNSON, until about two Months be-
fore her Decease. She was at last carried
off by a Fever in the Year 1723, and in the
37th Year of her Age.

THUS died at *Cellbridge*, worthy of an
happier Fate, the celebrated Mrs. ESTHER
VANNOMRIGH, a Martyr to Love and Con-
stancy.

HERSED

May
Died June 1723
born 1686?
At Dublin?

HERSED in DEATH's cold frozen Arms,
 Lye deep entomb'd VANESSA's Charms;
 Transfixt by LOVE's unerring Dart,
 The gentle FAIR indulg'd the Smart;
 For twice six long revolving Years
 Her Days were spent in Sighs and Tears;
 Her tender Frame at last decay'd,
 She quits the World a lifeless Shade;
 Nor can, alas! the Grave secure
 Her Virtues uncorrupt and pure!

VANESSA's Fate in mournful Strains
 Bewail, ye NYMPHS, and SHEPHERD
 SWAINS;

Ye tuneful CHOIR, to whom belong
 The Pow'rs of Verse; in plaintive Song
 Bewail the NYMPH, who dy'd to prove,
That Reason was her Guide in Love.*

C H A P. XII.

I AM interrupted in the Course of my Design by somebody, I know not whom, the *Observer*, I think he is called, upon those *Remarks*, which were published about two or three Years ago, *on the Life and Writings of Dr. JONATHAN SWIFT*. This anonymous Author, whoever he be, has endeavoured by a thousand Artifices to conceal the latent Purposes of his Heart, under the

* Vid. CADEN. and VANESS.

the fair Appearances of Candour, Friendship and Religion. Safe in the Covert of his Obscurity he degrades, he reviles the DOCTOR, with whom he had the Honour to be acquainted; and shoots the most fiery Darts, even the most bitter Words, the most cruel Sarcasms, without any Regard to Truth, against the most innocent of all the human Race, for any Thing he knows, or can prove to the contrary, so far as they had any Commerce or Intimacy with Dr. SWIFT*. He pretends, indeed, to have written several of his Anecdotes from Information. But, let him look to that; and clear himself as well as he can, by casting the Odium of his Calumnies on the Backs and Reputations of those *monstrous Misinformers*, those abominable *Swervers from Truth*, by whom he hath been so *grossly and so frequently abus'd*: Otherwise, I am afraid, he must endure the Reproach of being the Author and Publisher of Scandal and Defamation. I shall not vouchsafe to animadvert upon all the Mistakes in his Performance, having neither Time nor Inclination for an Amusement of that Sort: I shall only detect his Falsifications one after another, and perhaps now and then some critical Blunders, as they happen to fall in my Way, no Matter how abrupt and irregularly; and at last

wind

* Vid. Observations, Lett. 1.

wind up the Whole with what I have principally to say to him.

THE Observator writes, as if he took it for granted, that STELLA's real Name was JOHNSTON; an Error, which he hath industriously adhered to upon all Occasions; and therefore, supposing him to have had *the Honour of being in the lowest Class of Dr. SWIFT's Acquaintance* (which I believe as sincerely, although it be a Sentiment of his own, as I do any one Paragraph in his twenty Epistles) it cannot pass for a Mistake, but for a notorious and wilful Untruth. JOHNSTON is the Name she brought over with her from *England*, and the Name, whereby she was perpetually called as well by Dr. SWIFT*, as by all the rest of the World.

“ WE are told, saith the Observator†,
 “ (and I am satisfied by SWIFT himself) at
 “ the Bottom of a Letter to Dr. SHERIDAN,
 “ dated *Sept. 2, 1727*, that Mrs. JOHNSTON
 “ and Mrs. DINGLEY, were both Relati-
 “ ons to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE; at whose
 “ House SWIFT became acquainted with
 “ them, after he left the University of
 “ *Dublin*. Mrs. JOHNSTON then was not
 “ the Daughter of Sir WILLIAM's menial
 “ Servant; at least if she was, that Servant
 “ was his Relation.

Now

§ Vid. SWIFT's Letters to Dr. SHERIDAN, and several other Passages in his Works.

† Letter 5.

Now, what is an Author capable of writing; or rather, properly speaking, what is an Author not capable of writing; who hath the Front to impose upon the World such an abandoned Falshood? the Observator declareth himself to be satisfied, that in Fact this marginal Note * at the Bottom of a Letter to Dr. SHERIDAN (which by the Way he does not vouchsafe to call a Note, but flurs it over with an Intention to deceive) was written by SWIFT himself. Written by SWIFT himself, as an explanatory Note, in a Letter to Dr. SHERIDAN, which he never intended should have seen the Light! I would as soon believe, that it was written by the DOCTOR someTime after his Decease; for, it is only to be found in the 8th Volume of his Works, which was never printed until the Year 1746. If this be Rhetorick, it is the Rhetorick of SATAN, built on the Foundation of a gross and palpable Falshood; and purely designed with a View to impose on the careless, the credulous, and the unwary. But, to throw this Matter beyond all Dispute, as Dr. SWIFT was a Man of Honour, it is impossible he could have written or insinuated what he knew to be false.

* The Editor's Note is this; " Mrs. JOHNSON and Mrs. DINGLEY, both Relations to Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE, at whose House the Author [the Author? *pray mind that Word*: THE
AUTHOR

THE Account of Dr. SWIFT's applying himself to my Lord Treasurer in Favour of Mr. CONGREVE, happens to be grounded on a Mistake, at least in the Manner it appears in the Observations, * "*My good Doctor, &c.*" for that noble Answer of my Lord OXFORD,

Non obtusa adeo gestamus pectora Poeni,
Nec tam averfus equos Tyria sol jungit
ab urbe.

was not made to Dr. SWIFT, but to my Lord HALLIFAX: which the Observator might easily have known, if he had consulted Dr. SWIFT's Letter to POPE, dated *January 10, 1721.*

THE Application of the above Lines was certainly extreamly fine, and worthy of a great Minister. And yet, I remember an Application of another Passage in the same Speech of Queen DIDO, at least equally as happy and spirited: The Account of it I had from Dr. SWIFT about three or four and twenty Years ago. The Dean having asked my Lord CARTERET, when he was Lord Lieutenant of *Ireland*, how he could persecute,

AUTHOR of a Letter to Dr. SHERIDAN?] "became acquainted with them, after he left the University of *Dublin*.—Their Fortunes being not very considerable, they chose to spend their days in *Ireland*."

* Let. 3.

persecute, and issue a Proclamation, offering 300*l.* for discovering a poor honest *Drapier*, who had been guilty of no other Crime than that of writing three or four Letters for the Instruction of his Neighbours, and the good of his Country; His EXCELLENCY was pleased to answer.

Res dura, & regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri.——

AN Answer indeed; which was at once an Apology for his proceeding in the Manner he did; and a Justification of the Measures he had pursued in his regal Capacity.

THE Observer in his 5th Letter, speaking of the Doctor's having taken his Bachelor of Arts Degree *Speciali Gratia*, declares, "That SWIFT explained himself in the following Manner. That he looked up-
" on the Study of *Greek* and *Latin* to be
" downright Pedantry, and beneath a Gen-
" tleman. That Poetry and Plays and No-
" vels, were the only polite Accomplish-
" ments." Which Account, taken in the gross, I can never persuade myself to believe, That SWIFT had read over a good Number of Plays and Novels, and perhaps several of the *English* Poets, during his Residence in the University of *Dublin*, I shall never dispute. But, that any Man of SWIFT's Abilities, conscious to himself that he was born to no Fortune, should so much affect

affect the Idleness and Folly of a young Heir, impatient of Controul, as to look upon the Study of *Greek* and *Latin* as downright Pedantry, and beneath a Gentleman, I shall never subscribe to; but, on the contrary, I shall wholly rely upon that Account which I had from the Doctor himself*; and especially on the Doctor's own Words in Section the 22d of the *Appendix*, where it happens we are assured, that having no great Relish by Nature for those Studies which are expressly *Academick*, he turned himself to reading History and Poetry†; wherein every Body knows there are Fields of Literature, extensive enough for a Man of Genius and Application to range in for a great Part of his Life, supposing his Speculations were wholly confined within the Limits of the *Greek* and *Roman* Territories.

WE are also told by the Observator in his 5th Letter; "That SWIFT had been often heard to say, that from the Time of his taking this Degree [*his Master's Degree at Oxford*] he studied at least eight Hours a Day, one with another, for seven Years." The Observator should rather have said, that from the Time SWIFT went to Sir W. TEMPLE's in the Year 1688 until the Death of Sir W. in the Year 1699, he spent ten

* Vid. Chap. iii. p. 30.

† Appendix, Sect. 22.

ten Hours a Day one with another in hard Study, abating only the Time which he consumed in bodily Exercise; for, every two Hours (since we are fond of the most trifling Anecdotes) he ran up a Hill that was near Sir W. TEMPLE's, and back again to his Study; this Exercise he performed in about six Minutes: Backwards and forwards it was about Half a Mile: But, that any Man of SWIFT's Understanding, or Half his Understanding, could have been such a Pedant, as "to estimate the Attainments of other men, "by that exact Proportion of Time, which "he himself had passed in a close Application to Study; and to answer with Contempt if any Gentleman was cried up for Learning, if his Attention to Books fell short of that Period: *He a Scholar; 'tis impossible;*" is an absurd Imagination, calculated meerly to flatter some old dreaming Book-worms.

IN Letter the 16th the Observator gives an Account of SWIFT "rebuking the "Bishop of *Meath* apparently, in the most "gentle and respectful Manner, and with "great Coolness of Temper, &c. &c. because he had reflected with some Roughness (which the Dean considered as "Rudeness) upon one of his Clergy." Great Coolness of Temper, Gentleness of Deportment, and a profound Respect to his Superiors

Superiors in the Church*, every Body knows were the distinguishing Characteristics of Dr. SWIFT. But, let that pass among the rest of the Observer's Consistencies. However, the Truth of the Story, which I well recollect to have heard many Years ago, is this: Bishop ***, who had been lately translated from *Bangor* to the See of *Meath*, had not only the Misfortune, in the violent Days of Party, to reflect with some Degree of Asperity on the Reverend Mr. ***, one of his own Clergy; but also to recommend unto his whole Diocese the wearing of Numms, or Scraps of Linen to cover dirty Shirts. This Behaviour in the Bishop, and especially this Recommendation of Numms, fired the Indignation of SWIFT to the uttermost: He fell upon the Bishop, when he got him into the Synod, with outrageous Severity; and after he had spoken in Defence of Mr. ***; what, said he, do you think you have gotten among your *Welsh* Clergy? I would have you to know, said he, stripping up his Cassock from his Arms, and tearing open the Breast of his Waistcoat, that you have gotten into a Diocese of Gentlemen, who abhor Dirt, and Filth, and Nastiness;

* Vid. his Preface to the Bishop of *Sarum*'s Introduction; his Poem on the Bishops of *Ireland*, who endeavoured to get an Act to divide the Church Livings; his Poem entitled *JUDAS*; and fifty other Passages in his Works.

Nastiness; and thus he drove on, lashing the Bishop, and making him feel his Sarcasms. And to convince the Observator, that I know something of this Story, I can tell him, that PETER LUDLOW and DICK ASHE lay concealed in the Church of *Trim* during the Time of the Synod, not without the Connivance of Dr. SWIFT; who had in a great Measure invited them to the Feast.

To form a Judgment on the Candor and Abilities of the Observator, the surest Method we can take, is to review his friendly, and critical Remarks on the Life and Writings of Dr. SWIFT. However, as these Remarks happen to lye scattered here and there profusely in his Epistles, it will be necessary to collect them together, and range them properly into some Kind of Order. And, when that is done, perhaps the Reader of Taste or Learning, will adore his Candor, and be amazed at his Abilities.

BUT since the Fair, the equitable, and tender Criticism he hath passed on GULLIVER, is apparently the Ground-work of all the rest, even the Point which he hath laboured with all his Art, with all his Strength, with all his Finesses, and with all his Hypocrisy; we shall first examine what his Sentiments are with Regard to that Performance.

THE Observator insists upon it, that GULLIVER's *Travels*, " was not written in that
" Interyal which passed between the De-
" mise

“mise of the Queen and the Year 1720*.” But the Arguments he produces to support this negative Opinion are vain, frothy, and absurd. He would assure the World, “that SWIFT’S Time was much better filled “than in writing GULLIVER during that “Interval;” which is the first Inveective he throws out, by Way of Prolusion, against those *unimportant* Travels †. “The Care “of his *Deanery*, (saith the wise and judicious Observer) his *Cathedral*, its Regulations, its Income, and OEconomy took “up much of his Thoughts at this Time.” Now, what a Pity it is, that Dr. SWIFT himself has contradicted every Syllable of this fine Story: “I was three Years (saith he in a Letter to GAY, dated *January 8, 1722-3*) “reconciling myself to the Scene, “and the Business, to which FORTUNE “hath condemned me, and Stupidity was “that I had Recourse to.” ‘He went ‘through a very voluminous Course of Ecclesiastical History (saith the Observer) ‘in that Period.’ Now that voluminous Course of Ecclesiastical History which SWIFT went through was BARONIUS (the only History of the Church, to the best of my Recollection, that was to be found in his Library) a Course indeed of sixteen Volumes in Folio; which, I presume, would take up a Man of constant Application to Books somewhat

* Let. 9.

† Let. 15.

somewhat like Half a Year in the Perusal. But, unfortunately for the Observer, SWIFT read BARONIUS about two Years after GULLIVER was printed. "I dine
 " alone (saith he in a Letter to my Lord BOLINGBROKE, dated *April 5, 1729*)
 " upon Half a Dish of Meat, mix Water
 " with my Wine, walk ten Miles a Day,
 " and read BARONIUS." The Observer likewise saith, " he has Reason to believe,
 " that all the Knowledge SWIFT had of the
 " early Fathers, was then also acquired." But, that SWIFT acquired all the Knowledge he had of the early Fathers during that Period, is, to say no worse of it, a thick and a gross Mistake of the Observer; which nevertheless he deserves to be commended for, as a true, genuine Hero, that will stick at nothing, when it seemingly answereth to his Purpose. And yet I cannot help declaring upon this Occasion, that I have a Demonstration lying before me this very Instant, which effectually overturns the whole of his Conjecture. It is a Book of Extracts from St. CYPRIAN and St. IRENÆUS, taken by SWIFT in the Year 1697. He has not marked in this Book when he began to read St. CYPRIAN; but the Day, on which he compleated his Extract, was Nov. 19, 1697. And the Day following he began to read St. IRENÆUS, and finished his Extract from that early Father, *Dec. 12,*

1697. And further I can tell you, that in the preceding Part of the same Year, he took some very copious Extracts from SLEIDAN's Commentaries, and from *Padre PAOLO's* History of the Council of *Trent*, which are also at present lying upon my Table.

IN the Observator's 12th Letter his Reasoning upon this Point is admirable. He is of Opinion that SWIFT's Genius was verging towards the Decline, when he writ *GULLIVER's Travels*; and especially because when he writ the Voyage to *Laputa*, he did not make the King of that *flying Island* preside over "an immense Extent of Dominion, wholly dependent upon him, and govern his Subjects in a Manner somewhat analogous to that of GOD's Dominion over the Earth." An Observation, I confess, not unworthy of an Enthusiast. But, SWIFT had more Religion, more Sobriety, and more good Sense, than to proceed on a Plan so impious, visionary, and absurd. The very Thought of "illustrating the Appointments and Determinations of Providence," by the greatest Effort of the human Genius, not immediately under the Direction of the HOLY SPIRIT; carries in it somewhat or other, I know not what to call it, that is shockingly prophane. He would infer in the same Letter from SWIFT's Application of those Words,

Words, *non sum qualis eram* *, in a Letter to POPE, dated Sept. 20, 1723, that SWIFT's Genius was then upon the decline; whereas, if it proves any Thing at all, it will prove some Trifle more than, I believe, the Observer is aware of: For, it will prove, that SWIFT began to sink in his Genius for want of that lively and spirited Conversation, which in the Reign of Queen ANNE, *bonæ sub regno CYNARÆ* †, he had been used to at London. For, SWIFT's Words refer to a Sentiment in the preceding Letter from my Lord BOLINGBROKE §.

IN one Word; the Observer calls GULLIVER a Book of unimportant Travels ||; and declares, "that if SWIFT had recovered one Hour of rational Reflection, after the signal Chastisement of his total Infatuation, he would have numbered his latter Works [*and consequently his GULLIVER,*
X 2 " if

* An Expression which HORACE made use of on a particular Occasion, when he was about forty Years old. *Vid. lib. iv. od. 1.*

† HOR. lib. iv. od. 1.

§ My Lord BOLINGBROKE's Words are these,
" No Man comes to an Hermitage but for the
" Sake of the Hermit; a few philosophical
" Friends come often to mine, and they are such
" as you would be glad to live with, if a dull
" Climate and *duller Company* have not altered
" you extremely from what you were nine Years
" ago."

|| Let. 15.

“ if we may judge from the Tenor of the whole
 “ Passage, both Text and Context] among the
 “ Follies of his Life *.”

I HAD really almost forgotten to animadvert upon one of the finest Remarks in the whole twenty Epistles. The Observer “ apprehends that Sept. 20, 1723, is a Date “ some Years antecedent to SWIFT’s writing “ his GULLIVER †.” In the Year 1724, SWIFT was engaged in the Defence of LIBERTY and his COUNTRY against that Impostor WOOD and his Accomplices; and consequently SWIFT’s writing those *unimportant* Travels was not the Business of that Year. Neither do I apprehend that SWIFT could have written his GULLIVER in the Spring of the Year 1725, having amused himself that whole Season in writing a great Number of Verses §, and that political Treatise || referred to in his Letter to Dr. SHERIDAN, dated June 29, 1725.

BUT,

* Let. 13.

† Let. 12.

§ Viz. *A Receipt to restore STELLA’s Youth. A Simile on our Want of Silver, and the only Way to remedy it. A Poem On WOOD the Ironmonger; another WOOD an Insect; another entitled, WIEL. WOOD’s Petition to the People of Ireland; and fourteen Riddles.*

|| Viz. *Some Considerations on the Attempt to pass Mr. WOOD’s Brass-Money in Ireland.* Vid. BATHURST’s Edition of SWIFT’s Works, Vol. ix. p. 118.

BUT, sure it is, that SWIFT, who left *Dublin* early in the Summer of the Year 1725, and went to the North of *Ireland*, where he employed his Leisure in correcting GULLIVER *, writ a Letter to SHERIDAN, dated *Sept. 11, 1725* †; wherein he puts his Friend strongly in mind of his Description of the YAHOOs; and consequently SHERIDAN must have read GULLIVER in Manuscript some Time before the Summer of the Year 1725, but GOD knows how long before that Period. And in a Letter to POPE, dated *Sept. 29, 1725*, "Oh, if the World had but a Dozen ARBUTHNOTS in it, I would burn my Travels!" Then pray, Mr. OBSERVATOR, how many Years do you think it was after your famous 20th of *Sept. 1723*, that SWIFT writ his GULLIVER? But, to throw this Matter quite out of Dispute; I am assured by one of the *real* Friends of the Doctor, whose Authority is beyond ten Thousand Arguments, that SWIFT himself had declared upon some Occasion or other, that he had laid the Design of GULLIVER eighteen Years before it was printed; and consequently that must have been in the Year 1708. But, as none can imagine, that he writ any considerable Part of those Travels during the Time he was engaged in defend-

ing

* Vide Letter to POPE, dated *Sept. 29, 1725*.

† Vide SWIFT's Works, Vol. viii.

See Dr. Estlin's
to Burke July 1710
A Tale, p. 344.
for ref.

ing the Constitution, and protecting the Ministry, in the four last Years of the Queen, it is not unreasonable to conjecture, that he writ the greater Part of that Work, if not the whole, soon after his Return to *Ireland*, in the Year 1714, and before the close of the Year 1720. If in a Case of this Sort I might be allowed to offer a Conjecture of my own, I would almost take upon me to say, that Dr. SWIFT having finished his Account of the four last Years of the Queen, about the Month of *December* 1715, he then began to apply himself in earnest to GULLIVER's Travels, and compleated that Work, Corrections, Amendments, and the like only excepted; in the Winter of the Year 1720. And this Conjecture, without any racking or torturing of Words, seemeth to arise from a Passage in the last Chapter of the Voyage to HOUYHNHNMS*, where indeed

* The 11th Chapter of the Voyage to the HOUYHNHNMS, properly speaking is the last Chapter of GULLIVER's Travels, the 12th being only a Sort of a Critique, and a very bad one too, upon the whole Work in general. I must confess, in the Spirit of Candor and Sincerity, that I heartily wish that 12th Chapter, which is, without Exception, the dullest Piece (at least that I can remember) in his whole Writings, were either burnt or annihilated. This indeed, like the rest of his Criticks, I could easily have passed over uncensured; perhaps they never observed it, And

deed the Author declares, speaking in the Person of his Hero, "that at the Time he "is writing, it is five Years since his last "Return to *England*," which happened in the Month of *December* 1715, as you may read in one of the preceding Paragraphs: And this, I presume, (with great Submission to better Judgments) was intended as a Mark, whereby the exact Point of Time, when he finished that noble and grand Performance, which, in the prophetick Style of his Friend POPE, will in future Ages be the Admiration of all Men, should be known to Posterity.

I SHALL not follow the Observator in his Critique upon GULLIVER: I shall only remark, that for want of Abilities to understand his Author; or rather, for want of a delicate Sense to relish the Obligations of Virtue, he misinterprets one of the finest Strokes in the whole Voyages, and perverts it into a Blunder. His Observation is this, "the HOUYHNHNMS met once in four
" Years

And yet all that I mean by this gentle Severity (for I despise the Reputation of a little censuring Critick) is to shew the World, that I would scorn to approve through thick and thin the Works of the most improved, consummate Genius, in despite to that little Knowledge, which I have endeavoured to acquire, as a Direction to my own Taste and Judgment.

“ Years to make Laws which no Body was
 “ *bound* to obey *.” Whereas, the great
 Delicacy of SWIFT’s Notion consisted in
 this; having told us, that the Etymology of
 the Word HOUYHNHM is *the Perfection of*
Nature†; he observes to his Reader, “ that
 “ a Decree of their general Assembly is ex-
 “ pressed by the Word *Hnhloayn*, which
 “ signifies an *Exhortation*; for they have
 “ no Conception how a rational Creature
 “ can be *compelled*, but only advised, or *ex-*
 “ *horted*; because no Person can disobey
 “ Reason without giving up his Claim to be
 “ a rational Creature. §.”

It is scarce worth our Remark, that the
 Observator makes SWIFT treat ARISTOTLE
 with very little Respect: Whereas, on the
 contrary, SWIFT admired ARISTOTLE be-
 yond all the Philosophers which had ap-
 peared in the World, from the Days of
 ALEXANDER the GREAT to the Moment
 he was then writing; I had almost said,
 even to the Contempt of all others, not ex-
 cepting DESCARTES, GASSENDI, and the fa-
 mous Sir ISAAC NEWTON; as any one may
 observe with Half an Eye, that will be at
 the Pains to read over the two first Para-
 graphs of the viiith Chapter of the Voyage
 to

* Let. 13.

† Vide GUL Voy. to the HOUYH, Ch. 3.

§ Vid. id, Chap. x.

to *Laputa* *, What, I fancy, betrayed the Observator into this Mistake, was the Difference of the Portraiture between HOMER and ARISTOTLE, as represented by SWIFT in the above Chapter. "HOMER (saith he) "was the taller and comelier Person of the "two, walked very erect for one of his "Age, and his Eyes were the most quick "and piercing I ever beheld. ARISTOTLE "stooped much, and made use of a Staff. "His Visage was meagre, his Hair lank "and thin, and his Voice hollow." In this Portrait of HOMER we observe all the Marks and Delineations of Quickness, Genius, and Fire, accompanied with an exquisite Power and Felicity, in the Communication

* I have lately found by Accident in a little Book of Instructions, which Dr. SWIFT was pleased to draw up for the use of a Lady (enjoining her to get it all by Heart) what his real Opinion was of ARISTOTLE. Without any Variation I shall transcribe his own Words. "ARISTOTLE, the Disciple of PLATO, and Tutor to "ALEXANDER the GREAT. His followers "were called *Peripateticks* from a Greek Word "which signifies *to walk*; because he taught his "Disciples *walking*. We have not all his Works; "and some of those which are imputed to him, "are supposed not genuine. He writ upon "Logick, or the Art of Reasoning; upon *moral* "and *natural Philosophy*; upon *Oratory*, *Poetry*, " &c. and seems to be a Person of the most "comprehensive Genius that ever lived."

q on Homer
p 248.

cation of his Ideas, with Clearness and Force, unto the Souls of his Auditors. SWIFT'S Portrait of ARISTOTLE is equally strong and masterly: He stooped much * faith he, and made use of a Staff; that is, he thought, he considered, he ruminated, he pondered deeply, on the most intricate, and abstruse Points, relating to the Sciences; and, by the Force of Reasoning, which is meant by his Staff, he cleared his Way through Briers and Thorns, until he struck into the Road which leads to Science and Philosophy.

THE remaining Part of ARISTOTLE'S Portrait is only the Representation of an abstracted Scholar, worn away, and decayed with Years, hard Study, nocturnal Lucubrations, and the Want of bodily Exercise.

HAVING

* This Idea of *stooping* is so far from implying the Want of Genius in the most exquisite Degree, that even the ANGELS of Heaven are reported to have *stooped down*, when they applied their Faculties to the Consideration of the Divine Mercy in the Redemption of Humankind; *ὡς ἂν ἐκθυμῶσι ἄνθρωποι κατανύψαι*, which Things the ANGELS desire to stoop down and look into, 1 Pet. i. 12. If the unlearned should imagine, that I have taken more Liberty than I ought in translating the Words of St. PETER, I can only refer them to the 20th Chapter of St. JOHN'S Gospel, V. 11th, where they may find *κατανύψω* translated to their Hands, exactly in the same Manner; *κατέκρυψεν ὡς τὸ μνημεῖον*, she stooped down and looked into the sepulchre.

HAVING remarked, perhaps more than sufficiently, on what the Observer is pleased to assert in Derogation to SWIFT's Genius when he writ his GULLIVER, we shall now marshal his critical Observations into Rank and File; and according to their natural Order pass them in Review before the Judgment and Candor of the Learned, and the impartial Reader.

IN the first Place, we are told by the Observer*, " that SWIFT's genius was verging towards the decline when he writ GULLIVER, or rather indeed, some time before; at least the Doctor himself seemed to think so, in a Letter to Mr. POPE, dated Sept. 20, 1723; a Date which the Observer apprehends to have been some Years antecedent to the writing of his GULLIVER's Travels."

" But what signifies the Loss of Abilities in the Year 1723, when SWIFT's " Genius never shone out in greater Strength than in the Year 1724 †, in his *Drapier's Letters*, and the subsequent Occasions that called it forth? The Performances best praise themselves. *O si sic omnia!*"

" THE Letter to my Lord PALMERSTON [written in the Month of Jan. 1725-6] and the Letter to Mrs. MOORE [written in Dec. 1727, and above a Year after the Publication of GULLIVER] are both of them

* Let. 12.

† Let. 9.

“ them in their Kind as masterly as any
 “ other Productions of SWIFT’S Pen, with-
 “ out Exception ||.”

IN the Year 1726 SWIFT wrote a Poem,
 [*I presume* the Epistle to a Lady] “ which
 “ by the Help of a strong Delusion, we may
 “ observe to be encircled with the Words
 “ NOLI ME TANGERE in as strong and
 “ clear Capitals, as any Green Ribbon ever
 “ gloried in §.”

Now we are to suppose that Mrs. JOHN-
 SON, that *Medicine of Life*, being dead [*for*
she died in Jan. 1727-8] “ SWIFT’S Passions
 “ impaired his Memory; and his Solitude,
 “ for Want of a chearful, select, and learn-
 “ ed Conversation, unfurnished it with I-
 “ deas*.”

HOWEVER, SWIFT’S Genius was so alert,
 so brisk, so lively, in the Year 1732, when
 he writ the BEAST’S *Confession*; that his Wit,
 in the Preface to that Poem, is “ like spark-
 “ ling champain †.”

Nor forgetting what praises the Obser-
 vator bestows on the *Legion Club*, which
 will require some particular Animadversions,
 I shall close this Review of his Critiques,
 with what he observes on a Treatise of Dr.
 SWIFT’S, written in the Year 1737.
 “ There is such a Mastery of Style, (saith
 “ the Observator) Humour, Wit, and good
 “ Sense

|| Let. 18.

§ Ibid.

* Let 12.

† Let. 18.

“ Sense in SWIFT’s little Discourse about
 “ badging the Poor, [*although it was writ-*
 “ *ten above nine Years after his Memory was,*
 “ *for Want of a learned Conversation, unfur-*
 “ *nished with Ideas*] as must make it at
 “ once both delightful and instructive, to
 “ Men of the best Abilities and Knowledge
 “ of the World ||.”

AND here it is to be noted, that if any
 Composition more than another requires Ge-
 nius in a vigorous and exalted Degree, it is
 the Composition of a lively, spirited, and
 sublime Rapture of Poetry;

Not *Empire* to the rising Sun,
 By Valour, Fortune, Conduct won;
 Not highest *Wisdom* in Debates
 For framing Laws to govern States;
 Not *Skill* in Sciences profound,
 So large to grasp the Circle round;
 Such heav’nly Influence require,
 As how to strike the MUSES *Lyre*.
 SWIFT’s *Rhapsody*.

Now the Observator declares in plain
 Terms, “ that he perfectly agrees with the
 “ Author of the Remarks, that the Scheme
 “ of that Poem, entitled CADENUS and
 “ VANESSA, is very judicious and masterly;
 “ indeed, beyond any other of SWIFT’s
 “ Compositions, except the *Legion Club*
 “ [*written*

|| Let. 1.

“ [written in the Year 1735, which was
 “ three Years after SWIFT himself had ac-
 “ knowledged that his poetical Fountain was
 “ drained§; seven Years after the Death of
 “ of Mrs. JOHNSON; twelve Yeare after
 “ SWIFT’s Genius had began to fail; and
 “ nineteen Years after that Period of Life,
 “ from whence ARISTOTLE (with whom the
 “ Observer agrees) dates the Decline of hu-
 “ man Abilities*] which, he thinks, far ex-
 “ cels every other of SWIFT’s poetick Per-
 “ formances†.” A frank Confession, I ac-
 “ knowledge; and doubly obliging to the
 “ Doctor’s Memory upon some other Ac-
 “ counts.”

THAT very DON QUIXOTE, that indivi-
 dual “ romantick hero, who thinks him-
 “ self bound, at the Hazard of his Life,
 “ to defend the Honour and Purity of Style
 “ and Imagination, against all the Defile-
 “ ments and Disgraces of DUNCIADS,
 “ Dressing-Rooms, and other Abominations
 “ and Debasements of Genius†;” declares
 himself in Raptures with a Poem, which
 happens to be as shockingly disgraced with
 Turpitude of Style and Imagination, as any
Dunciad or *Dressing-Room* whatsoever||; and
 is

§ Vide SWIFT’s Letter to POPE, dated June 12, 1732.

* Vide Obs. Let. 12. † Let. 10. § Let. 7.

|| That I may not be charged with offending
 against

is besides horribly defiled with that odious,
that infernal Word, “ with which the Ob-
“ servator would not pollute his Page, and
“ which is in Truth such, as would more
“ effectually defile the Mouth of a well-
“ bred Woman, than Onion and Asafœtida
“ would her Breath §.”

HOWEVER, there is an obvious Reason,
why the same Critick, forgetting his Detest-
ation of the YAHOOs, together with all his
affected Purity, Charity, and Benevolence,
should vouchsafe his Benediction to an “ a-
“ bandoned Satyre,” wherein at least, Part
of

against the Rules of Delicacy and Politeness;
*quod vitium procul abfore chartis, atque animo
prius!* The Ladies will give me Leave to intreat
the Favour of them to pass over the following
Quotations from the *Legion Club*, without reading
them at all; as they are only designed to confirm
what I have asserted against the Observator.

*Such a Crowd their * * throws
On a far less Villain's Nose.
While they never hold their Tongue,
Let them dabble in their *.
Let them e'er they crack a *
Call for the Orders of the House.
We may, while they strain their Throats,
Wipe our * * with their Votes.
Dear Companions, hug and kiss,
Toast OLD GLORIOUS in your *,
Tie them, Keeper, in a Tether,
Let them starve and * together.*

§ Let. 7.

of the human Species “ are drawn in the
 “ most odious Colours, and shewn in a
 “ Magnifying-Glass, which enlarges all the
 “ deform Features into monstrous Dimensi-
 “ ons*.” The Author of that Poem gives
 the Apellation of *Hell* to the *Parliament-
 House*; in other Places he calls it an *Harpy's
 Nest*; the Members, without Distinction,
 he calls a *Parcel of Rogues, brainless Villains,
 a dire infectious Crew, an odious Groupe of
 Fools, Monsters, old Dotards, rampant Asses,
 prating Monkies, Beasts, and Demoniacks*:
 He wishes that the Devil in the Midst of rat-
 tling Thunder, might with a red fiery Poker
 crack the Stones, melt the Lead, and drive
 down the Ruins upon the Skulls of the Nati-
 on's Representatives; and at last in the Fury
 of his Indignation,

*He concluded looking round 'em,
 May, their God, the Devil, confound 'em!*

If this be not exaggerated Satyre, and
 exaggerated with a Vengeance; which, ac-
 cording to the Observator's peculiar Way of
 thinking, “ never yet did any Good, nor
 “ ever will;” I protest for my own Part, I
 know not what to call it: Perhaps, like a
 Witch's Prayer it is to be interpreted Back-
 wards; and therefore is a Panegyrick in the
 literal Sense and meaning of the Word.
 But

* Vide Let. 7.

But the *Legion Club* (which I esteem for its Variety of Excellence, as much as the Observator can do for his Life, and especially because it has in all likelihood done Abundance of Good) was written upon a certain Occasion against the *wicked Representatives* of the *wicked Laity*; and therefore hath an undoubted Claim in Spight of its Turpitudes and exaggerated Satyre, to his particular Admiration.

WHAT an amazing Discernment has the Observator shewn in the above Criticisms! But alas! so great is the Difference between a Critick and a Judge of Excellencies in the Productions of the Learned, that he mistakes the Visions of an *old Woman* for the Writings of Dr. SWIFT, and praises them into the Bargain. But where hath the Observator been guilty of this egregious Blunder? In Letter the 8th, Paragraph the first. His Words are these, addressing himself to the Author of the Remarks, "I hope it will always be taken granted, that where I do not animadvert, I assent; nay more, for the most Part highly approve." And therefore, whatever Blunder in the Remarks happens to remain undetected, the Observator assumes it to himself; nay more, he sanctifies it *with his Approbation*, or rather indeed, with his *silent Attestation*; which in his great Humility (forgetting that *some People's Attestation*, in *some Places*, and

Y

upon

upon *some Occasions*, is but little regarded) he declares *to be a Point of some Consequence*. Now, the Author of the Remarks hath unhappily mistaken the Visions of an *old Woman* for the Writings of Dr. SWIFT, as you may find in Letter the 17th, where speaking of the *Examiners**, he declares, that

* Every Body knows that the *Examiner* was a weekly Paper in Defence of the *Tory* Ministry. This Paper, as it was carried on by some very eminent Hands, having obtained a Vogue, SWIFT took up the Character of the *Examiner*, and commenced a regular Series of Politics with that Number which is marked 13, dated *November 2, 1710*: And having compleated the main Design, which first engaged him in the Undertaking, with Number 44, dated *June 7, 1711*, and taken his Leave of the Town, as you may observe in the two last Paragraphs of that Number; he dropt the Character of the *Examiner*, and never more writ another Paper. I have been somewhat particular in my Account of this Matter, because the subsequent Numbers, which by some Accident are at present bound up with the Works of Dr. SWIFT, are a Disgrace to his Writings. There was a Paper indeed still supported under the Title of the *Examiner*, but it sunk immediately into Rudeness and Ill-manners: And, what is still more, I can take upon me to assert from undeniable Authority, even from the Authority of Dr. SWIFT himself, that in Fact the Scurrility in those Papers was encouraged by the Ministry. In short; the subsequent *Examiners* were written

that " while SWIFT was writing in Defence
 " of the Commonwealth, he had an Oppor-
 " tunity of giving a Loose to his own Seve-
 " rity, of which the *House of Pride*, and
 " several other allegorical Essays are very
 " spirited Examples." But the *House of*
Pride

written by some Underspurleathers in the City,
 and were designed merely as proper Returns to
 those Grub-Street Invectives, which were thrown
 out against the Administration by the Authors of
 the *Medley*, the *Englishman*, and some other abu-
 sive, detracting Papers, of the like Stamp. But
 since an *Item* from Dr. SWIFT will undoubtedly
 go farther (as it justly ought) towards the clearing
 up of this Matter, than all I can pretend to say
 in the Way of Reasoning, I shall give you his
 own extempore Words to Mrs. JOHNSON upon this
 Point, in a Letter dated June 7, 1711: " As
 " for the *Examiner*, I have heard a Whisper,
 " that after that of this Day, which tells what
 " this Parliament has done, you will hardly find
 " them so good; I prophesy they will be Trash
 " for the future; and methinks in this Day's *Ex-*
 " *aminer* the Author talks doubtfully, as if he
 " would write no more, so that if they go on,
 " they may probably be by some other Hand,
 " which in my Opinion is a thousand Pities; but
 " who can help it? Observe whether the Change
 " be discovered in *Dublin*; only for your own
 " Curiosity, that's all.---Make a Mouth there."
 And in another Letter dated August 24, 1711.
 " The *Examiner* has been down this Month,
 " and was very silly the five or six last Papers."

Pride is so far from being the Production of Dr. SWIFT, that, on the Contrary, it is one of the Visions of Mrs. MANLEY, who wrote the *Atalantis*. Ergo, the Observator hath unhappily mistaken the Visions of an *old Woman* for the Writings of Dr. SWIFT.

AND here let it be noted once for all, that our sincere and candid Observator hath never once, throughout all his Epistles, had the Courage or the Ingenuity to advert, that the Author of the *Remarks*, who had spent a great Part of his Time in *Ireland* within the Compass of eighteen Years||, fairly and openly acknowledges in a Letter to Mr. POPE, dated Oct. 4, 1738 §, “ that he was “ particularly acquainted with most, if not “ all, of the Dean’s Friends:” And therefore might in all likelihood have drawn up that Account, which he had published to the World, of the Dean’s Companions, (an Account, which beyond every Thing else grates the Observator to the Soul) from the Information of his own Judgment, without any farther Assistance.

HAVING said in a former Chapter †, without presuming to mention the Names of particular Persons or Families, what occurred to me upon the Subject of the Dean’s Friendships in *Ireland*, I shall neither repeat what I have already asserted, nor vouchsafe

(as

|| Vid. Rem. Let. 16.
Works, Vol. vii. p. 299.

§ Vid. SWIFT’S
† Chap. ix.

(as I am no Way concerned in the Controversy) to enter the Lists in the Character of a Mediator between the Author of the Remarks and the Author of the Observations. But since the Observator, looking full and strong in their Faces, hath taken the Liberty to arraign some particular Persons, as if through "an unbridled Spirit of Scandal*" they had abused the Author of the Remarks by their "monstrous Misinformation;||" I shall freely declare, not indeed through a Spirit of Scandal, but through a Spirit of Indignation; that I accord so far with the Observator's Account of Dr. Swift's Companions, that WORRALL and his Wife (whose House the Observator acknowledges the Dean used as a Tavern) were the meanest People the Doctor conversed with, whether from the Year 1714 to the Year 1720, or at any other Period in his whole Life. For, WORRALL himself was a Foundling, which was the Reason that SWIFT, as the Observator might easily have recollected, used to call him MELCHISEDECK; and his Wife was the Daughter of a Smith in *Dublin*, at whose House WORRALL had lodged, where he contracted such an intimate Friendship with this young Woman, *this celebrated Lady*, that it was thought proper by his Friends that he should marry her, as well as by her Father, who gave her

200l.

* Vid. Obs. Let. 1. || Let. 11.

200l. Fortune. But Worrall was neither a Man of an improved Understanding, nor a Man of Humour; he was, I believe, a good Walker, ever in the Way, and always at the Command of Dr. Swift: And Mrs. Worrall, as the Observer justly remarks, was a neat, clean looking Woman in her Dress and Person, and had perhaps a good deal of that Sort of Vivacity, which is consistent with a mean Education, and very trifling Abilities: But her chief Excellency was, that she understood the Business of Marketing perfectly well; had studied what the Dean liked; and if the Markets afforded any Thing nice, when the Deans Stomach, as Years came on, began to be in some Measure weak and capricious, she constantly bought it for him, and sent it home to the Deanery. In these little obliging Offices the Doctor found his Account; but never had any Esteem either for the Husband or the Wife.

THERE is one Circumstance in the Dean's Character (a Character, which I am afraid, can never be drawn up with any Sort of Justice, the Outlines being so extremely various, heteroclitic, and perplexed) which ought to have been considered by those, who have attempted to criticise upon his Life and Conversation. From a Principle of Wisdom, taking the World as he found it, no Man ever studied more than Swift did, to reduce every Man's Talents to his own particular

ticular Gratification. He could feast upon the Delicacies of Wit and Learning, when they happened to fall in his Way; and at other Times be content with plain common Entertainment. He could laugh, and drink a Bottle with SHERIDAN over Night; and the next Morning walk into the Fields, and prattle to WORRALL. Perhaps there never was a Man equally desirous with Dr. SWIFT, to have a Companion always at his Beck, of some Sort or other; and without Dispute, throughout all *Dublin* he could not have fixed upon another so exactly calculated to receive his Commands, and especially to attend him in his Morning Exercise, as JOHN WORRALL; the rest of his Acquaintance being either Gentlemen of Fortune, Fellows of the University, Clergymen of Distinction, or Lawyers of Eminence; who had their own several Studies, Amusements, and Occupations, as well as the Dean. However, it is certain, that after the Death of Mrs. WORRALL, the Dean having by that Time left off walking abroad in a Morning, shook off the Husband as a Man of little or no Consequence; and behaved himself to WORRALL with so much Dryness and Coldness, that whenever he came to his House, which he still continued to do sometimes, he was barely civil to him; on Account whereof the Dean was censured in private, even by those Persons, whom the

Observer

Observator would least suspect for any Kindness or Tenderneſs to the Doctor's old Acquaintance, not that any of them cared Threepence for WORRALL, or knew any Thing more of him, than as a Man whom the Doctor had once condeſcended to Honour with a Share in his Friendſhip.

THIS in Truth is to me one of the moſt diſagreeable Parts in the whole Subject I have undertaken to manage; and yet I muſt ſtill inſiſt upon the Remainder of WORRALL's Character; becauſe the Account given of this little Maſter of the Song, appears to have been drawn up by the Obſervator in direct Oppoſition to what he falſely imagines (for any Thing I know to the Contrary) was dictated by the Monopolizers of Dr. SWIFT to the Author of the *Remarks*.

NOW WORRALL's true Character is this. He was one of the greateſt Miſers in the World; and ſpent the latter Scenes of his Life in acting the Part of VOLPONE. He had endeavoured without Succeſs to play his Tricks upon ſome of the Choir, on whom he wanted to faſten himſelf, not only as a perpetual Gueſt, but as a Director and Judge of their OEconomy; under a Notion that he would leave his adopted Son the greater Part, if not the Whole of his Fortune. And this Matter he pushed ſo far in one of their Families, that at laſt he was actually forbidden the Houſe; and afterwards became

came the standing Jest of the whole Choir. But, although he failed in his Attempts upon his Brethren, he contrived to insinuate himself into the good Graces of another Family; and by Degrees became so far Master of their Table, as not only to make it his Property, but to signify what Dishes he liked best, (which were generally of the expensive Kind) and to ask a Friend, or a Stranger, whenever he had a Mind, to partake of the Entertainment, which he might freely do without any Sort of Hesitation, having declared Mr. F** his adopted Son. And these Artifices he carried still farther, in order to cloke his Purposes and to banish all Appearances of Deceit. The following Instance, which Mr. F** told me with Abundance of Humour, will perhaps give you some Idea of the Man. A Tenant of WORRALL's having come to Town, in order to settle Accounts and renew a Lease; WORRALL invited him to the Tavern, where he bespoke an expensive Dinner; then called upon Mr. F** to be of the Party. The Accounts were all stated in the Presence of his adopted Son; and the rest of their Business talked over, and approved. But, when the Bill for their Entertainment was brought up, WORRALL turning himself to Mr. F**, desired him in a low Voice to pay the Reckoning; for, GEORGE, said he, this Person will be your own Tenant one of these

George Faulkner?

these Days: And accordingly the adopted Son paid the whole Expences at the Tavern. I cannot but say, that Mr. F * * through meer Indignation confessed to me above a Year ago, when I had no Thought of making use of the Story, or of introducing WORRALL's Name into any Page of this Work, that he believed in his Conscience he had spent somewhat above 400 *l.* extraordinary upon this little Fox of a Clergyman, this little Master of Arts, this Reader and Vicar of St. PATRICK's *Cathedral*, and Master of the Song.

q. Dec. 1754
2. e. c. 1753

HOWEVER, this Foundling; I beg his Pardon; "this Gentleman (saith the Observer) is lately dead; and hath left a large Sum of Money to publick Charities, and the Dean's Hospital in particular."

GREAT G—D! what an amazing Assertion is here! *to the Dean's Hospital in particular!* If WORRALL bequeathed one Shilling to the Hospital founded by Dr. SWIFT, then every Word in this Chapter is a Calumny. And, if he did not; I appeal unto the common Sense of all human Kind, what Credit is to be given to the Affirmations or the Attestations of a Writer, who makes not the least Scruple of imposing on the World so notorious a Falshood; a wilful, an abandoned Falshood, even in Defiance of a Record, proved, like most other Wills, in the Court of Prerogative, and registered in the proper

proper Office to his Confusion. But, that I may not seem to the World as a Deceiver, I will endeavour to set this Matter in a clear and impartial Light. Worrall, whom all his Friends, until his dying Moments were approaching, could never prevail upon to make a Will, expressed, as I have been told by an Authority which I deem unquestionable, a very great Sensibility of his own covetous and miserable Temper, some little Time, perhaps two or three Days, before his final Exit. And accordingly, as Riches would not avail him in the next World, having resolved to make the best Use of them he could before he descended to the Grave, totally forgetting Mr. F** his adopted Son, he bequeathed 30*l.* a Year for Life to his old Housekeeper, 100*l.* a Year Exhibitions to ten Servitors, or Sizars, in the University of *Dublin*, and the rest to his Executors, to be disposed of, as I apprehend, in publick Charities, after what Manner they should approve. His Executors indeed were pleased to appropriate 500*l.* to Dr. SWIFT's Hospital, and the like Sum, as I have been told, of 500*l.* each, to two other Hospitals. But Worrall himself left not one Shilling to Dr. SWIFT's, or to any other Hospital whatsoever.

BUT supposing the Observator's Account of this little Master of Arts, to be every Syllable of it true in its full Extent and Meaning,

ing, which it certainly is not; if any Man will calmly reflect upon the Insignificancy of WORRALL, his Situation, his Character, his Birth, and Education, (for like others I could name, whose Delight was to bring SWIFT acquainted with very mean People, and some of them excessively immoral, he had been bred a Sizer, or Servitor, in the University, to attend upon his Betters) he cannot but infer, that it rather establishes than overthrows what is argued to the Disadvantage of Dr. SWIFT by the Author of the Remarks; although it must be confessed, the Sagacity of the Observator designed it otherwise. So much for his Observation, "that SWIFT always lived with, and loved the People of Talents most *congenial* to his own *."

THERE is another Passage in the 8th Letter, which I could not read with any Sort of Patience. The Observator compares some of the worthiest Gentlemen among all the DOCTOR'S Acquaintance to his Night-gown, his Couch, and his Easy Chair. What Ideas he would convey unto the Minds of those, who are unacquainted with the Merits of those Gentlemen, he best can tell.

THERE is besides, a great Want of Delicacy and Politeness, over and above the Hazard of an Untruth, in the Character which he gives of Mr. FORDE. He declares without

* Vid. Let. 19.

* See Letter VIII and London Magazine II (Nov. 1733), 582: (Poetical Essays in November)

"Dr. Swift to a Friend, who ask'd him which were his favourite Furniture."

without Hesitation, that Mr. FORDE was the best Lay-scholar of his Time and Nation. Had he said that Mr. FORDE was one of the best Scholars &c. his Compliment would have made its Appearance with Ease and Gracefulness; neither can I presume to say, that any Objection could have been raised against it. But, in declaring that Mr. FORDE was the best Lay-scholar &c. it is manifest, that he proudly distinguishes between the Clergy and the Laity; and contemptuously sinks the latter below all Degrees of Comparison with the former. And yet how can the Observator be sure, that the best Lay-scholar in the Kingdom, at any Time whatsoever, is not absolutely the best Scholar in the Kingdom? For, if Holy Orders do not convey the Gift of Languages and Abilities, in these corrupt Ages of the World, as it is plain to a Demonstration they do not, the Odds are clearly on the Side of the Laity; and for this single Reason; because a Man of Fortune, Leisure, and Application to the several Branches of Learning, who is not encumbered with a Profession, has double the Advantage of any other, whose Time and Thoughts (how reputably, how gloriously soever employed in the Cure of Souls) are principally devoted, or, at least, ought to be devoted, to one particular Study.

THE

THE Observator is likewise, for Want of some little Consideration, which it must be confessed he has not always about him, under a strange Dilemma, and runs the Hazard of an Untruth, by declaring absolutely that Mr. FORDE was the best Lay-scholar of his Time and Nation. For, how could the Observator, or any Man upon Earth, have known for certain, who was the best Lay-scholar among two Million of People? Was the Observator acquainted personally, supposing him to be a competent Judge of those Matters, with every Gentleman of Abilities and Learning scattered up and down throughout the whole Kingdom? In short; further than as it appears from the Productions of the Age, it is a Point hardly to be conjectured, much less ever to be decided with any Degree of Certainty, who is the best Scholar, no Matter whether of the Laity or of the Priesthood, in any civilized Nation whatsoever.

I HAVE little more to object against the Remainder of this 8th Letter, only that since the Observator has ventured so far as to mention the Names of particular Persons, (which is perhaps a Method of Reasoning scarce to be allowed in Matters of such a delicate Nature, where the Abilities, Learning, and Politeness, of a Number of Gentlemen are brought into the Question) he should have gone somewhat further, and
given

given us a more compleat Catalogue of SWIFT's Acquaintance in *Ireland*, whether of the first, second, or third Class; for, it is certain he has omitted the Names of as great, as worthy, and as learned Men, as any that he has recorded: And then perhaps his Argument might have stood in a fair and a clear Point of Light, and defied all Opposition as well as it could.

BUT, to come to another Particular. The Observator, without any the least Provocation, further than what his own wild incoherent Ideas suggested to his Imagination, is pleased to be excessively enraged against some very near Relations of Dr. SWIFT, who were perhaps as warmly and sincerely his Friends, at least one of them undoubtedly was*, as any the most sanguine, that ever were acquainted with him in the whole Course of his Life. This furious Writer, not able to contain his Rancour for Half a Minute, has two Paragraphs in the very Apparatus of his Book, wherein he falls upon them bitterly, outrageously, unmercifully: In the former they are accused in plain Terms of Ingratitude, Lying, Insincerity, and other Crimes of an atrocious Nature: In the latter they are not only accused of Circumvention, Fraud, Untruth, Defamation, and Hypocrisy; but of endeavouring to monopolize

Mrs. Hillaway

* The Author positively, and without Affectation, declares, that he does not mean himself.

monopolize the DOCTOR unto themselves, in all Probability with a Design to pillage him. Dreadful Accusations! False and groundless Accusations; the Work of Darkness, forged in Hell, and as devoid of Truth, *as the Answer upon Oath to any Bill in Chancery, which has been preferred in Ireland within the Compass of these last seven Years.* If indeed the Observator can exhibit one single Testimony, or even the Colour of a Testimony, which he is defied to produce, in the Support of his Charge; let the credulous World hereafter give an implicit Assent, without ever calling his Veracity in Question, to the most silent of his Attestations. On the contrary; if the Observator cannot maintain the most minute Article in that whole Body of accumulated Slander, with which he hath endeavoured to asperse the innocent; he is an infamous Detractor; and whatever else the Reader will please to call him. But, allowing, for the Sake of Argument, that some of the DOCTOR's near Relations; who might on the Score of Nature, and perhaps other Considerations, be supposed to have some Claim to his Friendship; had been desirous, like all the rest of the World in similar Cases, to have monopolized him unto themselves, principally with an Intention to enlarge their own Fortunes, (which however is entirely false) their Crime would neither have been devouring
Widows

1748-1756

Widows Houses; nor, by the most hellish and abominable of all iniquitous Contrivances, *cheating whole Families out of their lawful, their hereditary Possessions.*

BUT, without the Assistance of great and superior Abilities, any candid impartial Reader, who hath Eyes to see, and common Sense to understand, might easily have collected from SWIFT's own Writings; which at least a Man who pretends to criticise upon his Life and Conversation, ought carefully to have perused; that he was forsaken by his Friends or Companions, call them which you please, long before the Vigour and Sprightliness of his Genius had began to fail; even a Year before his writing the famous *Rhapsody*, and three Years before his writing the *Legion Club*, which the Observer is pleased to extol greatly beyond all the rest of his poetick Performances. And therefore the Observator must allow, whether he will or not; or at least the rest of the World will do it for him; that SWIFT was in those Times not to be so far imposed on by the Insinuations of any designing People whatsoever, as to encourage them to banish from his House and Conversation all his best Acquaintance; even his *cheerful*, his *select*, his *learned* Companions*. Is it reasonable to imagine, they could have banished from his House that fine Poet; God

i.e. 1733 the
year *A. Pope*
written.

Z

knows

* Obs. Let. 12.

knows whom, (for the World is strangely at a Loss to form any Conjectures about him) whose *congenial Talents* * enabled him to pay a Compliment to SWIFT in his own Irony; and whose Modesty was so great, that he burnt some of the genteelest Verses, in Answer to his ironical Compliment, that ever were written by Dr. SWIFT, in a Fit of Mortification †; and afterwards told the Story to the Observer [from Hypocrisy, and all its attendant Abominations, good LORD deliver us !] in a Fit of spiritual Pride? If indeed such was the Opinion of the Doctor's best Friends, as the Observer calls those who neglected to visit him in his declining Years; how came it to pass, that not one of the whole Circle had either Wisdom or Courage enough to represent this Matter to the Dean, and to warn him against the Subtilty of those designing Wretches? But, instead of that open, fair, and generous Dealing, up starts an Observer two and twenty Years after, and tells the World an absurd ridiculous Story, a Fable of his own Creation, without Head or Tail, or so much as one Grain of Truth in the whole Composition. This Mirror of Criticism, if he had written with any Share of Impartiality and Candor, might have told us in what Year it was, that SWIFT began to complain he was forsaken by his Friends.

But

* Obs. Let. 19.

† Obs. Let. 2.

But since it happens that he has drawn a Veil over this Matter, and is cunningly silent upon the Occasion; I must inform the Publick, that SWIFT began to complain in that very Year, so renowned for the Vigour and Sprightliness of his Genius, that his Wit, as the Observer terms it, was *sparkling Campaign**. For, in the same Year that he wrote the *Beast's Confession*, talking occasionally to his Friend GAY, he has these Words; 4. 1732.
 " I would fain have you get enough against
 " you grow old, to have two or three Ser-
 " vants about you and a convenient House.
 " It is hard to want those *subsidia senectuti* †,
 " when a Man grows hard to please, and
 " few People care whether he be pleased or
 " no: *I have a large House; yet I should*
 " *hardly prevail to find one Visitor, if I were*
 " *not able to hire him with a Bottle of Wine:*
 " So that when I am not Abroad on Horse-
 " back, I generally dine alone, and am thank-
 " ful if a Friend would pass the Evening with
 " me. I am now with the Remainder of
 " my Pint before me, and so here's your
 " Health §." And again he says to POPE,
 " I know not any Man who is in a greater
 " Likelihood than myself, to die poor and
 " Friendless ||." Nay, the very Women he
 complains forfook him; " what (saith he)

Z 2

" vexes

* Let. 18. † Support to old Age. § Let. 57. July 1732. p. 200. || Let. 83. 1732-3. p. 285.

"vexes me most is, that my Female Friends
 "who could bear with me very well a
 "Dozen Years ago, have now forsaken
 "me, [*which by the way is not very consist-*
 "ent with his House being a constant Serag-
 "lio, whatever that means, of very virtu-
 "ous Women from Morning till Night *] al-
 "though I am not so old in Proportion to
 "them, as I formerly was; which I can
 "prove by Arithmetick; for then I was
 "double their Age, which now I am not."
 But in the Year 36 and 37 he complains
 tenderly; "Mrs. WHITEWAY is ever your
 "Friend; (saith he to SHERIDAN) but
 "your old ones have forsaken you, *as mine*
 "*have me †.*" And again, lamenting his
 Condition to that same worthy Man, that
 Abominator of Hypocrisy, whose Friend-
 ship and Sincerity were equal to his Wit
 and Learning; "I have not one Rag of
 "Memory left; (saith he) *and my Friends*
 "*have ALL forsaken me §.*"

Vertiginosus, inops, surdus, male gratus amicis ||.

BUT to finish all that is requisite to be
 urged upon this Point. The Death of Mrs.
 JOHNSON

* Vid. Remarks Let. 10. † Vol. 8. June
 1736. p. 443. § Vol. 8. April 1737. p. 450.
 Vol. 8. p. 466.

|| Deaf, giddy, helpless, left alone,
 To all my Friends a Burthen grown.

JOHNSON contributed more, as I have hinted in the 9th Chapter, to banish the Dean's Companions, or *best Friends*, as the Observator calls them from about him, (as indeed from that Period he dropt the Custom of entertaining them twice a Week on his publick Days) than all the presumed Efforts of any particular Persons whatsoever. Nay, the DOCTOR himself hints in a Letter to his Friend SHERIDAN, that with the Loss of Mrs. JOHNSON, all his Pleasures would be at an End. "I have been long (saith he) "weary of the World, and shall for my "small Remainder of Years be weary of "Life, *having for ever lost that Conversation* " *[this he wrote from England, upon a Sup-* " *position that Mrs. JOHNSON was dead]* "which could only make it tolerable*."

There was besides, I am afraid, some heteroclite Impatience in the Dean's Temper, even before he had compleated his 65th Year, which precluded the Necessity of using any sinister Arts to banish his Acquaintance from about him. "I am grown " (saith he to POPE) less patient with Solitude, *and harder to be pleased with Company*; which I could formerly better digest, "when I could be easier without it than at "present†." These several Causes added to the Death of some; the Dispersion of others;

* Vol. 8. July 1726. p. 410.
June 1732. p. 281.

† Let. 82.

others; and the Ingratitude of those, who forsook the DOCTOR's Acquaintance, after they had made their Fortunes under the Shelter of his Patronage; gave Occasion to those melancholy, those tender Complaints, of that once great and admired Person; whose Conversation even in his latter Days, after the Vigour and Sprightliness of his Genius had greatly subsided, had somewhat in it strangely uncommon, which was not to be remarked in the rest of human Kind.

THE Virulence of the Observator is so excessively malignant, that he cannot endure with any Patience to admit, *that SWIFT's Abilities rendered him superior to Envy*; which is, I think, very justly observed by the Author of the *Remarks*. The Observator declares, that SWIFT well knew Mr. POPE to be much his Superior in Epick Poetry; Mr. GAY in Pastoral, &c; and my Lord Treasurer OXFORD much his Superior in Politicks; a Science however on which he valued himself not a little*.

I do profess, I have so high an Esteem for my Lord OXFORD, Mr. POPE, and Mr. GAY, that I shall only remark; if any of these great Men were possessed of Talents which SWIFT had not, SWIFT was undoubtedly possessed of many other great and shining Talents, which every one of them were entirely Strangers to: And therefore it may

* Obs. Let. 3.

may be still asserted and maintained, in Defiance of the Observator and all his Conjectures, *That SWIFT's Abilities, or, if you would rather have it so, his Pride of Abilities, rendered him superior to Envy.*

WAVING therefore any Critique on his poetical Talents, which I have occasionally remarked in a former Chapter * I think, we may venture to prophesy, that SWIFT's Reputation will in spite of his Criticks, Observators, and Detractors, continue to flourish and be adored, so long as any Taste for Wit and Politics shall remain in *England*. For, it is not the hissing, ill-natured Whisper of a gloomy retired Monk, or disconsolate Hermit; but, the loud and clear Trumpet of the publick Voice, which exalteth the Reputation of an Author, and crowneth his Fame with Honour and Immortality.

BEFORE I proceed any further, I must beg Leave to acquaint the Reader of Taste and Judgment, that I am well apprized the following Account of Dr. SWIFT will appear abrupt and irregular; neither in Truth could it well have been contrived otherwise, unless there had been a violent departing from the DOCTOR's own Words; which, for many Reasons will, especially at this Time, be more satisfactory to an inquisitive and curious World, than a thousand Pages

of *SWIFT's* *Works* *Vol. 1.* *Chap. 11.*

of *Remarks and Observations*, unsupported by his Authority.

BUT, to return to the Observer. How is it possible he could “have been well assured, that SWIFT well-knew my Lord Treasurer OXFORD to be much his Superior in Politicks?” Is the Observer himself a Politician? or, how came he to be so well acquainted with the Politicks of my Lord OXFORD, who is allowed even by his Friend SWIFT to have had the greatest Inequalities of any Man alive*; and by all the rest of the World to have been one of the most reserved, and mysterious, of at least all *English* Politicians; which was in Fact the Ruin of himself†, and the whole *Tory* Ministry‡? However, with great Respect to the Abilities of my Lord Treasurer; I will venture to assure the Publick from unquestionable Authority, even from the Authority of Dr. SWIFT’s Letters to Mrs. JOHNSON, that my Lord OXFORD never in his Life

* Vid. Vol. 7. p. 140.

† He was deprived of his Treasurer’s Staff three Days before the Queen died.

‡ Vid. *ATLAS*, or the Minister of State; vid. the *Faggot*; vid. some Free Thoughts upon the present Posture of Affairs, Vol. 7. and especially my Lord BOLINGBROKE’s Letter to SWIFT, Numb. 39. Vol. 7. p. 134. and SWIFT’s Answer, Numb. 40. V. 7. p. 139. on which I desire to be excused from making any particular Remarks.

Life acted the Politician with more Dexterity and Finesse, than he did in the whole Course of his Behaviour to Dr. SWIFT; barring indeed the last Act, [*vid. the Fagot*] wherein he would not be directed by SWIFT, and reconciled to his Fellows: And accordingly his stoical Obstinacy proved the Destruction of them all. But, to avoid Digressions; SWIFT no sooner appeared at London in the Month of Sept. 1710, but "all the Whigs" were ravished to see him, and would have "laid hold on him as a Twig to save them" from sinking; and the great Men were "all making him their clumsy Apologies*." "It is good (saith the Doctor) to see what a lamentable Confession the Whigs all make of my ill Usage†." In short; the Whigs would gladly have depended on his superior Talents for their Resurrection; and the Tories dreaded from his Pen their inevitable Destruction. Such was the Opinion that both Parties had in those Days conceived of his Abilities. SWIFT was indeed represented to Mr. HARLEY, "as one extremely ill used by the last Ministry||;" a Sentiment, which in his political Wisdom that great Minister both greedily and fearfully imbibed. And accordingly, when SWIFT waited upon him about the *First Fruits*

S's words for
Oxford's actions?

* Let. to Mrs. JOHNSON, Sept. 9, 1710. Memorandum he writ to Mrs. JOHNSON every Day.

† Sept. 30, 1710. || Vid. Vol. 8. p. 357.

Fruits and Twentieth Parts; HARLEY knowing the Pride and Spirit of the Man with whom he had to deal, instantly began to pay his Court to SWIFT in all the Shapes that were consistent with his Spirit and Dignity. The Moment that SWIFT appeared in his House, HARLEY "received him
 " with the greatest Respect and Kindness
 " imaginable; and appointed him an Hour
 " two or three Days after to open his Business to him*." No sooner had SWIFT told him his Business on the Day appointed, but HARLEY "entered into it with all Kind-
 " ness, asked him for his Powers and read
 " them, and read likewise the Memorial
 " he had drawn up, and put it into his
 " Pocket to shew the Queen; told him the
 " Measures he would take; and in short,
 " said every Thing he could wish; told him
 " he must bring Mr. ST. JOHN and him
 " acquainted, and spoke so many Things
 " of personal Kindness and Esteem, that
 " he [SWIFT] was inclined to believe what
 " some Friends had told him, that he
 " [HARLEY] would do every Thing to
 " bring him over. He [HARLEY] desired
 " him to dine with him on Tuesday, and
 " after four Hours being with him, set him
 " down at ST. JAMES'S *Coffee House* in a
 " Hackney Coach†." And again; "I
 " must tell you (saith the Doctor) a great
 " Piece

* *Off.* 4, 1710.† *Off.* 7, 1710.

“ Piece of Refinement in HARLEY [*Memorandum, this was but four Days after their first Acquaintance*] He charged me to come to see him often; I told him I was loth to trouble him in so much Business as he had, and desired I might have leave to come at his Levee; which he immediately refused; and said, *that was no Place for Friends**.” In two Days after HARLEY told him he had shewn his Memorial to the Queen, and seconded it very heartily; because (saith he) the Queen designs to signify it to the Bishops of Ireland in Form, and take Notice that it was done upon a Memorial from you; which Mr. HARLEY told SWIFT, *he did to make it look more respectful to him†.*”

“ I BELIEVE (saith he) never any Thing was compassed so soon, and purely done by my personal Credit with Mr. HARLEY, who is so excessively obliging that I know not what to make of it, unless to shew the Rascals of the other Party, that they used a Man unworthily who had deserved better§. HARLEY (saith the Doctor) speaks all the kind Things to me in the World||.” But the Account of his Entertainment and Reception at the Secretary's, will give you some clearer Light into these Matters. “ I dined To-day (saith he)

* Oct. 8, 1710.

† Oct. 10, 1710.

§ Oct. 21, 1710.

|| Nov. 8, 1710.

“ by Invitation with the Secretary of State,
 “ Mr. ST. JOHN. Mr. HARLEY came in
 “ to us before Dinner, and *made me his Ex-*
 “ *cuses* for not dining with us, because he
 “ was to receive People who came to pro-
 “ pose the advancing Money to the Govern-
 “ ment.—*The Secretary used me with all the*
 “ *Kindness in the World.* PRIOR came in
 “ after Dinner; and upon an Occasion he
 “ [the Secretary] said, the best Thing he
 “ ever read is not yours, says he, but Dr.
 “ SWIFT's on VANBRUG; which I do not
 “ reckon so very good neither; but PRIOR
 “ was damp't till I stuff'd him with two or
 “ three Compliments. He told me among
 “ other Things, *that Mr. HARLEY com-*
 “ *plained he could keep nothing from me, I*
 “ *had the Way so much of getting into him.*
 “ I knew that was a Refinement; and so I
 “ told him, and it was so. Indeed it is
 “ hard to see these Great Men use me like
 “ one *who was their Betters*, and the Pup-
 “ pies with you in *Ireland* hardly regard-
 “ ing me. But, there are some Reasons*
 “ for

* These Words have an Eye to his writing the
Examiner; which he kept as a profound Secret
 from all the World, except the Printer and the
 Ministry. PRIOR was suspected for being the
 Author of the *Examiner*, Vid. Numb. 26, 31,
 and had like to have been insulted for it in the
 Street; to which the Letter from the *Whigs* to the
Examiner,

“ for all this, which I will tell you when
“ we meet†.”

BUT to avoid accumulating Quotations upon Quotations, and crowding them one upon the Back of another; it is a Point beyond all Controversy, that no Sovereign Prince was ever more caressed by noble, generous, and manly Spirits, than SWIFT undoubtedly was, not only by the great HALEY, but all the *Tory* Ministry. For, it is certain, that SWIFT courted not the Ministry; but the Ministry courted SWIFT to be their Champion and their Protector||; and used him with the same Respect, as well after, as before, he had taken them under his Care: Neither did he once consent, as will be seen hereafter, to stay with the Ministry, and run his Fortune among them. How different is this just and true Account, which I have extracted from SWIFT's own Letters, from what we meet with in the fourth Letter of the *Observator*; whose homely Manner of representing SWIFT's Intimacy with my Lord OXFORD, is not worth my Quotation?

BUT,

Examiner, Numb. 28, very plainly alludes. I cannot but observe, that SWIFT tells Mrs. JOHNSON in one of his Letters dated *March 7, 1710*, that she may count upon all Things in the *Examiner* to be true.

† *Nov. 11, 1710.*

|| Vid. his own Words, *Examiner*, Numb. 26.

BUT, to proceed; it appears, I think, very plainly, from some accidental Passages in SWIFT's Letters to Mrs. JOHNSON, that how reserved and mysterious soever were the Politicks of my Lord OXFORD, he was more open to SWIFT than to any of those Great Men, who had the Honour to serve their Country under the Appointment of HER MAJESTY. His Words are these; "I
 " dined with him [HARLEY] To-day. E-
 " very Saturday, Lord Keeper, Secretary
 " ST. JOHN, and I dine with him, and
 " sometimes Lord RIVERS, and they let in
 " none else*.—I stayed with Mr. HARLEY
 " till nine; when we had much Discourse
 " together after the rest were gone; and I
 " gave him very truly my Opinion when he
 " desired it†." And the next Day he confirms what I have asserted in more express Terms. But, as I have Reason to believe, the Curious and Political would be glad to know what was the Conversation of two such Great-men as HARLEY and SWIFT in those factious Times, I shall set down the whole Result of their Deliberations, without any Disguise, Addition, or Subtraction, in the Doctor's own Words. " This Kingdom
 " (saith

* This was the Infancy of that famous Society of about Sixteen of the greatest Men in *England*, whereof SWIFT was a Member. They all passed under the general Denomination of Brothers.

† March 3, 1710.

“ (saith he) is certainly ruined as much as
 “ was ever any Bankrupt Merchant. We
 “ must have Peace, let it be a bad or a good
 “ one*; though no Body dares talk of it.
 “ The nearer I look upon Things, the
 “ worse I like them. I believe the Confe-
 “ deracy will soon break to Pieces; and our
 “ Factions at Home increase. The Mini-
 “ stry is upon a very narrow Bottom; and
 “ stand like an *Isthmus* between the *Whigs*
 “ on one Side, and violent *Tories*† on the
 “ other. They are able Seamen, but the
 “ Tempest is too great, the Ship is too rot-
 “ ten, and the Crew all against them. Lord
 “ SOMMERS has been twice in the Queen’s
 “ Closet, once very lately; and the Dut-
 “ chess of S——t who now has the Key,
 “ is a most insinuating Woman; and I be-
 “ lieve they will endeavour to play the same
 “ Game that has been played against them.
 “ I have told them all this, which they
 “ know already; but they cannot help it:

“ They

* “ In my Opinion (saith he in a former Letter
 “ dated Jan. 7, 1710) we have nothing to save
 “ us but a Peace, and I am sure we cannot have
 “ such a one as we hoped; and then the *Whigs*
 “ will bawl what they would have done, had they
 “ continued in Power. I tell the Ministry this
 “ as much as I dare, and shall venture to say a
 “ little more to them.”

† *These violent Tories were the OCTOBER CLUB.*

“ They have cautioned the Queen so much
 “ against being governed, that she observes
 “ it too much. I could talk till To-morrow
 “ upon these Things; but they make me
 “ melancholy. I could not but observe,
 “ that lately after much Conversation with
 “ Mr. HARLEY; though he is the most
 “ fearless Man alive, and the least apt to
 “ despond; he confessed to me, *that utter-*
 “ *ing his Mind to me gave him Ease*.*”

HAVING in the above Passage hinted at the *October Club*; perhaps that clear, impartial Account, of their indigested Schemes, as it fell accidentally from the Pen of Dr. SWIFT, may throw some additional Light upon the History of that *Æra*, which it must be confessed is very greatly wanted; and, at the same Time be a Caution to all worthy and sober Men, who principally intend the Good of their Country in all their Reasonings and Debates, not violently to oppose and distress any Ministry whatsoever, who desire to act with Temper and Moderation upon constitutional Principles. His Account of them runs in these Words: “ We are plagued
 “ with an *October Club*, that is, a Set of
 “ above a Hundred Parliament Men of the
 “ country †, who drink *October Beer* at
 “ Home, and meet every Evening at a Ta-
 “ vern

* *March 4, 1710.*

† A hundred and fifty he saith in another Passage, *April 13, 1711.*

"vern near the Parliament, to consult Af-
 "fairs, and drive Things to Extrems
 "against the *Whigs*; to call the old Mini-
 "stry to Account, and get off five or six
 "Heads. The Ministry seem not to regard
 "them; yet one of them in Confidence told
 "me, that there must be something thought
 "on to settle Things better. I'll tell you
 "one great State Secret: The Queen, sen-
 "sible how much she was governed by the
 "late Ministry, runs a little into the other
 "extream; and is jealous in that Point
 "even of those who got her out of the o-
 "thers Hands. The Ministry is for gen-
 "tler Measures, and the other *Tories* for
 "more violent. Lord RIVERS talking to
 "me the other Day, cursed the Paper call-
 "led the *Examiner* for speaking civilly of
 "the Duke of MARLBOROUGH. This I
 "happened to talk of to the Secretary, who
 "blamed the Warmth of that Lord and
 "some others, and swore that if their Ad-
 "vice were followed, they would be blown
 "up in Twenty-four Hours. And I have
 "Reason to think that they will endeavour
 "to prevail on the Queen to put her Affairs
 "more

|| The Country Members, said he in a former
 Letter dated Jan. 7, 1710, are violent to have
 past Faults enquired into, and they have Reason;
 but I do not observe the Ministry to be very fond
 of it.

“ more in the Hands of a Ministry than she
 “ does at present: And there are, I believe,
 “ two Men thought on, one of them you
 “ have often met the Name of In my Letters *.”

SWIFT, conscious of his great Abilities, and that he was not obliged to the Ministry for any the least Favour; how much soever they had been obliged to him for his Care and Protection; treated every one of them round, just in what Stile and Manner he thought convenient. The Ministry, who were themselves Men of Wit and Penetration, bore with his Temper, and soothed him in his greatest Irregularities. Had they ventured to have acted otherwise; they knew in their Souls, that he would have taken Horse the next Morning; and, careless of their Fate, exposed them to the Fury of their Enemies. But this Spirit of Domination, which more or less gave a Tincture to all his Conversation and Behaviour throughout his whole Life, was suffered freely to pass under the soft and gentle Appellation of Wit and Humour. “ I dined To-day
 “ (saith he) with Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN:
 “ I went to the Court of Requests at Noon,
 “ and sent Mr. HARLEY into the House to
 “ call the Secretary, to let him know I
 “ would not dine with him if he dined
 “ late§.” Where do you find in the Roman,

* Feb. 18, 1710.

§ Feb. 12, 1710.

man, the Grecian, the Persick, the Assyrian, the Egyptian, or the Punick Story, any Champion, or Protector of a Ministry, alive and spirited to such an exalted Degree, as to command the First Minister of State to call out the Secretary from the important Business of his King and Country, upon so bootless an Affair? But, a Spirit of Liberty; or, in other Words, a just and true Notion of inherent Wisdom and Fortitude; will bear up the Possessor, like the Hand of an Angel, and encourage him to Things, which are wild, strange, and amazing, to Slaves, and Flatterers, and all the inferior Classes of wretched Humankind. Agreeable to the same Spirit, "The Ministry (saith the Doctor) are good honest hearty Fellows: I use them like Dogs, because I expect they will use me so. They call me nothing but JONATHAN; and I said I believe they would leave me JONATHAN as they found me, and that I never knew a Ministry do any Thing for those whom they make Companions of their Pleasures; And I believe you will find it so; but I care not*."

At the Hours that SWIFT was not engaged in political Affairs, he laughed, he played, he amused himself, with every Whim and Vagary that floated on the Surface of his Imagination. "Secretary ST. JOHN

A a 2

" (saith

* Feb. 17, 1710.

“ (saith he) would needs have me dine with
 “ him To-day; and there I found three
 “ Persons I never saw, two I had no Ac-
 “ quaintance with, and one I did not care
 “ for: So I left them early and came
 “ Home, it being no Day to walk, but scur-
 “ vy Rain and Wind. The Secretary tells
 “ me he has put a Cheat upon me; for Lord
 “ PETERBOROUGH sent him twelve Dozen
 “ Flasks of Burgundy on Condition that I
 “ should have my Share; but he never was
 “ Quiet till they were all gone; so I reckon
 “ he owes me Thirty-six Pounds†.” But,
 in a few Days after, SWIFT in a pleasant
 Manner took ample Satisfaction of the Se-
 cretary: For, “ I dined To-day (saith he)
 “ with Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN; on Con-
 “ dition I might chuse my Company, which
 “ were Lord RIVERS, Lord CARTERET,
 “ Sir THOMAS MANSEL, and Mr. LEWIS;
 “ I invited MASHAM, HILL, Sir JOHN
 “ STANLEY, and GEORGE GRANVILLE, but
 “ they were engaged; and I did it in Re-
 “ venge of his having such bad Company
 “ when I dined with him before. So we
 “ laughed, &c*.” This puts me in Mind
 of an Accident which happened at *Windsor*.
 “ The Court here (saith the Doctor) have
 “ got by the End a good Thing I said to the
 “ Secretary some Weeks ago. He shewed
 “ me his Bill of Fare to tempt me to dine
 “ with

† Feb. 18, 1710.

* Feb. 25, 1710.

“ with him; Poh, said I, I value not your
 “ Bill of Fare; give me your Bill of Com-
 “ pany. Lord Treasurer was mightily
 “ pleased, and told it every Body as a nota-
 “ ble Thing†.”

BUT further; SWIFT was a Man of such
 exalted Spirit and Fire, that if a Benefit de-
 signed him were not accompanied with Ele-
 gance and Grace in the Manner of proposing
 it, he would scorn the intended Favour, and
 resent it as an Affront. He quarrelled with
 his Friend HARLEY on a Punctilio of this
 Kind. “ Mr. HARLEY (saith he) desired
 “ me to dine with him again To-day, but I
 “ refused him; for I fell out with him Ye-
 “ sterday, and will not see him again till
 “ he makes me amends*.” But to come
 to the Point. “ I was this Morning early
 “ (saith he) with Mr. LEWIS of the Secre-
 “ tary’s Office, and saw a Letter Mr. HAR-
 “ LEY had sent him desiring to be reconci-
 “ led; but I was deaf to all Intreaties, and
 “ have desired LEWIS to go to him, and let
 “ him know I expected farther Satisfaction.
 “ *If we let these great Ministers pretend too*
 “ *much, there will be no governing them.* He
 “ promises to make me easy if I will but
 “ come and see him; but I wont; and he
 “ shall do it by Message, *or I will cast him*
 “ *off.* I will tell you the Cause of our
 “ Quarrel when I see you, and refer it to

† Sept. 2, 1711.

* Feb. 6, 1710.

“ yourselves†. In that he did something
 “ which he intended for a Favour, and I
 “ have taken it quite otherwise, disliking
 “ both the Thing and the Manner, and it
 “ has heartily vexed me; and all I have said
 “ is Truth, though it looks like Jest: And
 “ I absolutely refused to *submit* to his in-
 “ tended Favour, and expect farther Satis-
 “ faction§.” But in a few Days after he
 says, “ *I have taken Mr. HARLEY into Fa-
 “ vour again||.*”

I CANNOT find out the Nature and Cir-
 cumstances of this Quarrel from D. SWIFT'S
 Letters. I am inclined to believe (which
 however is a wild imagination of my own)
 that Mr. HARLEY, perhaps with too much
 Rapidity, caught up some Hint from the last
 printed *Examiner* [dated Feb. 1, 1710.] that
 SWIFT began to think it was Time he
 should have some Reward for the Pains he
 had taken in Support of the Administration.
 For, in the Heart of that Paper, he talks
 very highly of his own Merit and Abilities;
 and seemingly complains between Jest and
 Earnest; that so far from being rewarded
 suitable to his Deserts, he never had any
 Recompense at all, for being their Champi-
 on and Protector against a routed Cabal of
 hated
 † STELLA and her Friend Mrs. DINGLEY.
 His Letters seemingly are often addressed to both
 these Ladies.

§ Feb. 7, 1710.

|| Feb. 13, 1710.

hated Politicians, with a Dozen Scriblers at their Head. Which however, in his usual Manner, by the Help of an Irony, he turns to their Advantage. But what particular Favour it was, that Mr. HARLEY designed him, is not to be conjectured: Neither have we any Thing more in his Letters concerning this Matter, than what is darkly hinted at, whatever that be, in the following Words. Yes, I uuderstand a Cypher, and
 " *ppr* [STELLA] guesses right, as she always
 " does. He [HARLEY] gave me *al bsadmuk*
 " *lbainlpt dfaonr usainfbtoy dpionufnad*;
 " which I sent him again by Mr. LEWIS,
 " to whom I writ a very complaining Letter
 " that was shewed him, and so the Matter
 " ended. He told me he had a Quarrel
 " with me; I said I had another with him,
 " and we returned to our Friendship; and
 " I should think he loves me as well as
 " a great Minister can love a Man in so
 " short a Time. Did not I do right*?"
 But whatsoever was the original Cause of their Quarrel, it is certain that Mrs. JOHNSON approved his Conduct, and the Spirit with which he had behaved himself; for, a good while after he saith gravely enough in one of his Letters, " I am pleased that *ppr*
 " the Conjuror approves what I did with
 " Mr. HARLEY†."

THE

* March 7, 1710.

† April 5, 1711.

THE open, generous Manner, in which he treated his ministerial Friends, and expected to be treated by them, is clear and evident from a Discourse he had with the Secretary on a particular Occasion. "I dined (saith he) with the Secretary, who seemed terribly down and melancholy, which Mr. PRIOR and LEWIS observed as well as I: Perhaps something is gone wrong; perhaps there is nothing in it." This alone gave rise to the following Exposition. "I called (saith he) at Mr. Secretary's, to see what the D—— ailed him on Sunday: I made him a very proper Speech, told him I observed he was much out of Temper; that I did not expect he would tell me the Cause, but would be glad to see he was in better; and one Thing I warned him of, never to appear cold to me, for I would not be treated like a School Boy; that I had felt too much of that in my Life already; that I expected every great Minister who honoured me with his Acquaintance, if he heard or saw any Thing to my Disadvantage, would let me know it in plain Words, and not put me in Pain to guess by the Change of Coldness of his Countenance or Behaviour, for it was what I would hardly bear from a crowned Head, and I thought no Subject's Favour was worth

§ April 15. 1711.

“worth it: And that I designed to let my
 “Lord Keeper and Mr. HARLEY know the
 “same Thing, that they might use me ac-
 “cordingly. He took all right; said, I
 “had Reason; vowed nothing all’d him
 “but sitting up whole Nights at Business,
 “and one Night at Drinking; would have
 “had me dined with him and Mrs. MA-
 “HAM’s Brother, to make up Matters;
 “but I would not: I don’t know, but I
 “would not. But indeed I was engaged
 “with my old Friend ROLLINSON; you
 “never heard of him before.” And in
 his Letter of the next Day, he has these
 Words: “Why I think what I said to Mr.
 “Secretary was right †.”

BUT, what Importance do these late
 Writers imagine Dr. SWIFT was of to the
 Ministry and the Constitution in general?
 HE was a Man of Wit, a Scholar;
 “indulged by the Smiles and Conversation
 “of the Earl of OXFORD; one that flatter-
 “ed himself too highly in the Notion, that
 “the Place of Historiographer was intend-
 “ed for him; [which by the Way he disdain-
 “ed to accept, because it was at the Dispo-
 “sal of a Person, who had not the smallest
 “Share of Steadiness or Sincerity||] elated
 “with the Appearance of enjoying mini-
 “sterial

* April 3, 1711. † April 4, 1711.
 || Vid. SWIFT’s Let. to POPE dated Jan. 10,
 1721, Vol. vii. p. 14.

" sterial Confidence. He enjoyed the Sha-
 " dow: The Substance was detained from
 " him. He was employed, not trusted;
 " and at the same Time that he imagined
 " himself a subtil Diver, who dextrously
 " shot down into the profoundest Regions
 " of Politicks, he was suffered only to
 " sound the Shallows nearest the Shore,
 " and was scarce admitted to descend below
 " the Froth at the Top. Perhaps the deep-
 " er Bottoms were too muddy for his In-
 " spection*." A cruel Insinuation, com-
 " prised in those last Words, to the Dishonour
 " of a great Minister, whose only apparent
 " Faults (bad enough, it is true, and fatal in
 " their Consequences!) were Reserve and Pro-
 " crastination.

But, to form some clear and right Con-
 ception of what Importance Dr. SWIFT was
 in those turbulent Days of Party; we had,
 I think, better rely upon his own Words,
 and upon the Authority of some undoubted
 Facts, than upon the groundless and chime-
 rical Assertions of any Writers whatsoever.
 To enlarge indeed upon this Point, as far as
 it might be carried from accidental Passages
 in the abovementioned Letters to Mrs. JOHN-
 SON, would be to write a good moderate
 Volume expressly on that Subject. I shall
 therefore rest the Whole of his political
 Merit on a few short Quotations out of at
 least

* Vid. Remarks Let. 4.

least an Hundred that I could extract from these extempore, undisguised Epistles, all written within the Compass of a Year and a Half; and upon two original Letters from Dr. SWIFT, one of them to his Friend the Lord Treasurer, the other to the late Earl of OXFORD; and then refer it to the Ingenuity and Candour of an impartial World, to form what Conjectures they please on his Importance and Abilities.

It does not appear from these Letters, that SWIFT had any Design of attaching himself to the *Tory* Ministry when he came first to *London* in the Beginning of Sept. 1710. For, he declares within a few Days after his Arrival, that, "he is heartily weary of *London*, and wishes that he had never stirred [from *Ireland*]*." But observing in the Month of *October*, in what Manner he was courted by Mr. HARLEY and Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN, " (who frequently protested, after he had become their Intimate, that he was the only Man in *England* they were afraid of†)" as well as by the rest of the great People in Power, to whom he was immediately introduced by Mr. HARLEY upon their first Acquaintance, he readily enough accepted the Invitation to be their Friend and Protector.

And

* Sept. 12, 1710.

† June 30, 1711.

And now the publick Interest to support,
By HARRY SWIFT invited comes to Court,
SWIFT'S Poems.

" I STAND with the new People (saith
" he) ten Times better than ever I did with
" the old; and forty Times more careff-
" ed *."

" THE present Ministry have a difficult
" Task, and want me, &c. According to
" the best Judgment I have, they are pur-
" suing the true Interest of the Publick;
" and therefore I am glad to contribute
" what lies in my Power †."

" As for your News (saith the Doctor)
" that Mr. ST. JOHN is going to *Holland*,
" he has no such Thoughts to quit the
" great Station he is in; nor if he had,
" could I be spared to go with him ||."

AND again;

" MAY my Enemies live here [at *London*]
" in Summer; and yet I am so unlucky,
" that I cannot possibly be out of the Way
" at this Juncture.—The *Whigs* whisper
" that our Ministry differ among themselves,
" and they begin to talk out the Secretary.
" They have some Reasons for their Whif-
" pers; though I thought it was a greater
" Secret. I do not much like the present
" Posture of Things; I always apprehend-
" ed

* Oct. 14, 1710.

† Nov. 29, 1710.

|| Jan. 24, 1710.

“ ed that any falling out would ruin them;
 “ and so I have told them several Times.
 “ The *Whigs* are mighty full of Hopes at
 “ present, and whatever is the Matter all
 “ Kinds of Stocks fell. I have not yet talk-
 “ ed with the Secretary about PRIOR’S
 “ Journey [to *France*]. I should be apt to
 “ think it may foretell a Peace; and that is
 “ all we have to preserve us*.”

SWIFT and the Secretary having appoint-
 ed to spend a whole Day in private together
 upon Affairs of the greatest Consequence;
 “ The Duce (saith he) is in the Secretary;
 “ when I went to him this Morning he had
 “ People with him; but says we are to dine
 “ with PRIOR To-day, and then will do all
 “ our Business in the Afternoon: At two,
 “ PRIOR sends Word he is otherwise enga-
 “ ged: Then the Secretary and I go and
 “ dine with Brigadier BRITTON, sit till
 “ Eight, grow merry, no Business done;
 “ we part, and appoint no Time to meet
 “ again. This is the Fault of all the pre-
 “ sent Ministers, teasing me to Death for
 “ my Assistance, laying the whole Weight
 “ of their Affairs upon it; and slipping Op-
 “ portunities†.”

BUT, not to insist wholly upon generals,
 or upon Matters of inferior Consequence,
 although I could produce forty Instances of
 SWIFT’S political Wisdom, and HERCU-

LEAN

* Aug. 27, 1711.

† Oct. 31, 1711.

BEAN Strength in Support of the Constitution; the *Tory* Ministry would certainly have been overthrown in the latter End of the Year 1711, had it not been for that single Treatise, entitled *The Conduct of the Allies*. To engage in political Controversies, or to enter into the Merits of the Peace of *Utrecht*, is by no Means any Part of my Design. I shall therefore only observe, without regarding whether a Peace was necessary, or whether it was more expedient to continue the War in *Flanders*, that it was SWIFT's Opinion, "the Ministry might hold, if they "could carry a Peace; but not otherwise*." And accordingly he began to write this famous Tract, which he frankly acknowledges cost him Abundance of Pains, in the Month of *June* 1711, much about the Time that Preliminaries for a Peace were under Consideration.

TAKING it then for granted, without disputing the Point through a long Series of Reasoning, that HARLEY, ST. JOHN, and the rest, were at that Period in a very tottering Condition, as they certainly were; I shall observe in a cursory Manner, what Opposition was made to their Conduct, and by what Means they were preserved from their intended Ruin.

THE *Whigs* encouraged, supported, and abetted, by the *Dutch*, the *Emperor*, and all the

* Dec. 3, 1711.

the *Princes* in the *Grand Alliance*, were furious against a Peace. In the Summer of the Year 1711 they had been extremely active in mustering up their Forces, and collecting their whole Strength against the next Meeting of the Parliament; and with such Dexterity their Affairs were managed, that actually they had gotten the Queen herself to be secretly on their Side, as appeared to a Demonstration from her Behaviour to the Duke of SHREWSBURY on the 7th of December, 1711*. Thus elated with Hope, and

* As the Curious perhaps would be glad to know this little Point of History, I shall deliver it in the Words of Dr. SWIFT, whose Testimony is, I believe, unquestionable. "When the Queen was going from the House of Lords, where she sat to hear the Debate, on the 7th of December, 1711, the Duke of SHREWSBURY, Lord Chamberlain, asked her Majesty, whether he, or the Great Chamberlain LINDSAY, ought to lead her out. She answered short, neither of you; and gave her Hand to the Duke of SOMERSET, who was louder than any in the House, against the Peace." [Dec. 8, 1711.] And what is more, Dr. SWIFT "having asked my Lord OXFORD, whether some particular Lords would have voted against the Court, if the Duke of SOMERSET had not assured them it would please the Queen; my Lord OXFORD plainly told him, his Conjectures were true, and that my Lord Duke of SOMERSET had so assured them. [Dec. 12, 1711.] And this Behaviour

and with a full Assurance of Success in defeating the Ministry, and quashing the Preliminaries of a Peace, Stocks fell, and all Difficulties seemed to vanish before them.

" We have no Quiet (saith the Doctor)
 " with the *Whigs*, they are so violent against
 " a Peace; but I will cool them with a
 " Vengeance, very soon*. " I have writ-
 " ten a Paper (saith he) which the Mini-
 " sters reckon will do Abundance of Good,
 " and open the Eyes of the Nation, who
 " are half bewitched against a Peace. Few
 " of this Generation can remember any
 " Thing but War and Taxes, and they
 " think it is as it should be; whereas it is
 " certain, we are the most undone People
 " in *Europe*, as I am afraid I shall make ap-
 " pear beyond all Contradiction†." And
 accordingly, upon the 27th of *November*,
 just ten Days before the meeting of the Par-
 liament, *The Conduct of the Allies* was pub-
 lished ||.

Behaviour of the Queen was in Fact the original Cause of her making twelve Peers at once, " af-
 " ter she had at last been persuaded to her own
 " Interest and Security. Yet after all, saith the
 " Doctor, it is a strange unhappy Necessity of
 " making so many Peers together; but the
 " Queen has drawn it upon herself by her Tim-
 " ming and Moderation." [Dec. 29, 1711.]

* Oct. 26, 1711.

† Oct. 30, 1711.

lished ||. The Pamphlet made a World of Noise, and in two Days a Thousand of them were sold. The second Edition came out December the 1st, and was sold off in five Hours. By this Time all *London*, both Court and City were alarmed. The *Dutch* Envoy designed to complain of it, and refused dining with Dr. D'AVENANT, because among others he was suspected to be the Author. The *Whigs* resolved to bring it into the *House of Lords*, to have it there explained; and the *Lord Chief Justice* sent for MORPHEW the Printer, threatened him, asked him who was the Author of *The Conduct of the Allies*, and bound him over to appear the next Term. The Noise which it made was extraordinary. "It is fit (saith the Doctor) it should answer the Pains I have been at about it. Some lay it to PRIOR, others to Mr. Secretary ST. JOHN, but I am always the first they lay every Thing to*." However, within four Days after it was published, there was a Report in *London*, that several of the *Whigs* began to be Content that a Peace should be treated: In short, no Pamphlet ever had such

|| The following Accounts relative to this Pamphlet, are extracted from various Passages in SWIFT's Letters, and are all the Doctor's own Words.

* Dec. 2, 1711.

B b

such a prodigious Run. It immediately passed through seven Editions: Eleven Thousand of them were sold before the 28th of *January*, and three Editions in *Ireland* before the Beginning of *February* *.

THE Parliament, however, met on the 7th of *December*. "The Earl of NOTTINGHAM began and spoke against a Peace, and desired that in their Address they might put in a Clause to advise the Queen not to make a Peace without *Spain*; which was debated and carried by the *Whigs*, by about six Voices in a Committee of the whole House†: And the next Day the Clause was carried against the Court in the House of Lords almost two to one§." The Doctor, who has written copiously on these Proceedings, concludes his Letter in these Words; "This is a long Journal, and of a Day that may produce great Alterations, and hazard the Ruin of *England*. The *Whigs* are all in Triumph. They foretold how all this would be, but we thought it boasting. Nay, they said, the Parliament should be dissolved before *Christmas*, and perhaps it
" may;

* This Account of three Editions being sold in *Ireland*, I find by his Letters was a Point of News received from Mrs. JOHNSON.

† Dec. 7, 1711.

§ Dec. 8, 1711.

“ may; this is all your || D— of S—T’s
 “ doing: I warned them [*the Ministers*] of
 “ it nine Months ago, and a hundred Times
 “ since. The Secretary always dreaded it.
 “ —I told Lord Treasurer, I should have
 “ the Advantage of him, for he would lose
 “ his Head and I should only be hanged;
 “ and so carry my Body entire to the
 “ Grave†.”

AND shortly after talking of these Affairs;
 “ Here are (saith the Doctor) the first Steps
 “ towards the Ruin of an excellent Mini-
 “ stry; for I look upon them as certainly
 “ ruined.—Some are of Opinion the whole
 “ Ministry will give up their Places next
 “ Week; others imagine, when the Sessi-
 “ ons is over.—I do resolve if they give up,
 “ or are turned out soon, to retire for some
 “ Months, and I have pitched upon the
 “ Place already: I would be out of the Way
 “ upon the first of the Ferment. For they
 “ lay all Things on me, even some I have
 “ never read*.” Nevertheless, while
 Things continued in this doubtful Situation,
 and many of the Friends of the Ministry
 had given all for gone; such was the Force
 of Reasoning, and such were the Merits of
 that Pamphlet, *The Conduct of the Allies*;
 “ that

|| Mrs. JOHNSON was certainly a *Whig*, as ap-
 pears from numberless Passages in these Letters.

† Dec. 8, 1711. * Dec. 15, 1711.

“ that the *Tory* Lords and Commons in
 “ Parliament argued all from it; and all
 “ agreed that never any Thing of that Kind
 “ was of so great Consequence, or made so
 “ many Converts*.” And at last, such
 “ were the Effects that it produced almost
 “ universally in the Minds of Men, that
 “ the House of Commons (saith the Doc-
 “ tor) have this Day made many severe
 “ Votes about our being abused by our Al-
 “ lies. Those who spoke drew all their
 “ Arguments from my Book, and their
 “ Votes confirm all I writ. The Court had
 “ a Majority of 150. All agree that it was
 “ my Book that spirited them to these Re-
 “ solutions†.” And presently after he
 confirms what he had asserted beyond all
 possibility of Mistake. “ The Resolutions
 “ (saith he) printed the other Day in the
 “ Votes, are almost Quotations from it,
 “ and would never have passed, if that
 “ Book had not been written §.” Such
 were the Politicks, and such was the Im-
 portance of Dr. SWIFT, in those furious
 Times.

THE following Letters may perhaps throw
 some additional Light upon the Doctor's
 Character; and principally on that Account
 I have thought it convenient to insert them
 in this Place.

To

* Dec. 18, 1711.

† Feb. 4, 1711.

§ Feb. 8, 1711.

To the Earl of OXFORD, Lord TREASURER.

My Lord,

July 1, 1714.

* When I was with you, I have said more than once that I would never allow Quality or Station made any real Difference between Men. Being now absent and forgotten, I have changed my Mind; you have a Thousand People who can pretend they love you, with as much Appearance of Sincerity as I; so that according to common Justice, I can have but a thousandth Part in return of what I give. And this Difference is wholly owing to your Station. And the Misfortune is still the greater, because I always loved you just so much the worse for your Station. For in your publick Capacity you have often angered me to the Heart, but as a private Man never once. So that if I only look towards myself, I could wish you a private Man To-morrow. For I have nothing to ask, at least nothing that you will give, which is the same Thing. And then you would see whether I should not with much more Willingness attend you in a Retirement, whenever you pleased to give me Leave.

* This Letter was written from *Berkshire*, after the Doctor had wholly quitted the Ministry, upon finding it impossible to reconcile the Misunderstandings between the Lord TREASURER and the SECRETARY.

Leave, than ever I did at *London* or *Windsor*. From these Sentiments I will never write to you, if I can help it, otherwise than as to a private Person, nor allow myself to have been obliged by you in any other Capacity.

THE Memory of one great Instance of your Candor and Justice I will carry to my Grave; that having been in a manner Domestick with you for almost four Years, it was never in the Power of any publick or concealed Enemy to make you think ill of me, though Malice and Envy were often employed to that End. If I live, Posterity shall know that and more; which though you and somebody that shall be nameless seem to value less than I could wish, is all the Return I can make you. Will you give me Leave to say how I would desire to stand in your Memory? As one who was truly sensible of the Honour you did him, though he was too proud to be vain upon it: As one who was neither assuming, officious, nor teasing; who never wilfully misrepresented Persons or Facts to you, nor consulted his Passions when he gave a Character: And lastly, as one whose Indiscretions proceeded altogether from a weak Head, and not an ill Heart. I will add one Thing more, which is the highest Compliment I can make; that I never was afraid of offending you, nor am now in any Pain for the Manner I write to you in. I have said enough,

enough, and like one at your Levee, having made my Bow, I shrink back into the Crowd.

I am, my Lord, &c.

To the [*late*] Earl of OXFORD.

My Lord, *Dublin, June 14, 1737.*

I had the Honour of a Letter from your Lordship, dated *April 7th*, which I was not prepared to answer until this Time. Your Lordship must needs have known, that the History you mention of the four last Years of the Queen's Reign, was written at *Windsor*, just upon finishing the Peace*, at which Time your Father and my Lord BOLINGBROKE had a Misunderstanding with each other, that was attended with very bad Consequences. When I came to *Ireland* to take this Deanery, (after the Peace was made) I could not stay here above a Fortnight, being recalled by an Hundred Letters to hasten back, and to use my Endeavours in reconciling those Ministers. I left them the History you mention, which I had finished

* The Doctor means only the first Draught of that History; for, it is certain, that after the Queen's Death, he spent a good deal of Time in improving and correcting it to his own Taste and Liking: And particularly we find in a Letter of the Dean's to Pope, dated *Jan. 10, 1721*, that he still employed some Part of his Leisure in digesting it into Order.

finished at *Windsor*, to the Time of the Peace. When I returned to *England*, I found their Quarrels and Coldness encreased; I laboured to reconcile them as much as I was able; I contrived to bring them to my Lord MASHAM's at St. *James's*; my Lord and Lady MASHAM left us together; I expostulated with them both; but could not find any good Consequences; I was to go to *Windsor* next Day with my Lord TREASURER; I pretended Business that prevented me; and so I sent them to *Windsor* next Day, which was *Saturday*, expecting they would come to some * * * * *. But I followed them to *Windsor*; where my Lord BOLINGBROKE told me that my Scheme had come to nothing. Things went on at the same Rate. They grew more estranged every Day. My Lord TREASURER found his Credit daily declining. In *May*, before the Queen died, I had my last Meeting with them at my Lord MASHAM's: He left us together, and therefore I spoke very freely to them both; and told them I would retire, for I found all was gone: Lord BOLINGBROKE whispered me, I was in the Right: Your Father said, All would do

† Here is an *Hiatus* of about Half a Line. The Reader's Imagination can easily fill it up, so as to make the Sense perfect.

do well §. I told him that I would go to OXFORD on *Monday*, since I found it impossible to be of any Use: I took Coach to OXFORD on *Monday*; went to a Friend in *Berkshire*; there stayed till the Queen's Death, and then to my Station here; where I stayed twelve Years, and never saw my Lord your Father afterwards. They could not agree about printing the History of the four last Years; and therefore I have kept it to this Time, when I determine to publish it in *London*, to the Confusion of all those * * * who have accused the Queen and that Ministry of making a bad Peace; to which that Party entirely owes the Protestant Succession. I was then in the greatest Trust and Confidence with your Father the Lord TREASURER, as well as with my Lord BOLINGBROKE, and all others who had Part in the Administration. I had all the Letters from the Secretaries Office during the Treaty of Peace: Out of those, and what I learned from the Ministry, I formed that History which I am now going to publish for the Information of Posterity, and to controul the most impudent Falshoods which have been published since. I wanted no Kind of Materials. I knew your Father better than you could at that Time; and I

§ This was a very common Expression of my Lord TREASURER, who was the least apt to despond of any Minister in the World.

do impartially think him the most virtuous Minister, and the most able that ever I remember to have read of. If your Lordship hath any particular Circumstances that may fortify what I have sayd in the History, such as Letters, or other Memorials, I am content they should be printed at the End, by Way of *Appendix*. I loved my Lord your Father better than any other Man in the World, although I had no Obligation to him on the Score of Preferment, having been driven to this wretched Kingdom, to which I was almost a Stranger, by his Want of Power to keep me in what I ought to call my own Country, though I happened to be dropped here, and was a Year old before I left it; and to my Sorrow, did not die before I came back to it again. I am extremely glad of the Felicity you have in your Alliances, and desire to present my most humble Respects to my Lady OXFORD, and your Daughter the Dutcheß. As to the History, it is only of Affairs which I know very well, and had all the Advantages possible to know, when you were in some Sort but a Lad. One great Design of it is to do Justice to the Ministry of that Time, and to refute all the Objections against them, as if they had a Design of bringing in Popery and the Pretender; and further, to demonstrate that the present Settlement of the Crown was chiefly owing to my Lord your Father,

Father. I can never expect to see *England*; I am now too old and sickly, added to almost a perpetual Deafness and Giddiness. I live a most domestic Life; I want nothing that is necessary; but I am in a cursed, factious, oppressed, miserable Country, not made so by Nature, but by the slavish, hellish Principles, of an execrable, prevailing Faction in it. Farewell, my Lord; I have tired you and myself. I desire again to present my most humble Respects to my Lady Oxford, and the Dutchess your Daughter; Pray GOD preserve you long and happy. I shall diligently enquire into your Conduct from those who will tell me; You have hitherto continued right; let me hear that you persevere so; Your Task will not be long; for I am not in a Condition of Health or Time to trouble this World, and I am heartily tired of it already; and so should be in *England*, which I hear is full as corrupt as this poor enslaved Country. I am with the truest Love and Respect, my Lord, &c.

HAVING now done with the Observator, as far as the Genius, Writings, and publick Character of my old Acquaintance seem to be any Way concerned; I am now in Point of Justice obliged to refute some malignant Slanders, which in Defiance of Truth, are scattered in the Observations, to the Prejudice and Dishonour of particular Persons;

to

to whom, in Charity to the Observator, I am willing to suppose he was an absolute Stranger. In treating however these Matters, I shall be forced to reveal some private Anecdotes, which, had it not been for the Calumnies of this Writer, should have passed unnoticed, for any Thing I cared, unto all Eternity.

It is among several others one of the Inventions of the Observator, that SWIFT allowed his Mother a considerable Pension, which he is pleased to remark, "as a sure "Indication of his filial Piety.*" But, that SWIFT allowed his Mother a considerable Pension, or any Pension at all, is really a Castle in the Air, without any Ground to support it; the Account of her slender Income, and other Means that were contrived, to make her Life easy and comfortable, being those only which I have already mentioned in their proper Place†." Her Revenue, it is certain, was not very considerable; and yet so far was the Doctor's Mother from wanting a Pension, that she bequeathed some Fortune to her Daughter: But unto what Value that Fortune amounted, is I declare, totally beyond my Conjecture. Nevertheless, be it great, or be it small, it seemeth to have been worth her Attention. For, in a Letter to Mrs. JOHNSON from Dr. SWIFT, dated January 1, 1710-

* Let. 7.

† Vid. Chap. 3. p. 23.

1710-11, are these Words, " Mrs. FEN-
 " TON has writ me another Letter about
 " some Money of her's in Lady GIFFARD's
 " § Hands, that is entrusted to me by my
 " Mother, not to come to her Husband."

It is true indeed that SWIFT used to make his Mother Presents of Coffee, and particularly of Chocolate, which she was extremely fond of; and it was usual with her to make her Son Presents of little Necessaries that were of her own making. Such was the affectionate Intercourse that subsisted between them. But supposing the Observer's Conjecture to have been as true as it is false; and that Dr. SWIFT from a Spirit of Tenderness, Gratitude, and Benevolence, had made his Parent very handsome Donations, is there any Man such a Brute as to imagine, that he could have endured to think of his Generosity in the Stile of a Pension? So far from it, that Dr. SWIFT, who allowed Mrs. DINGLEY 52*l* a Year, contrived that Matter in so genteel a Way, because it was impossible to keep it wholly a Secret, that he pretended he was only her Friend, and her Agent for Money that she had in the Funds: And to carry on the Deceit with still greater Politeness, he would sometimes cry, when she sent to him for Part of this Allowance, " Pox take that
 " Woman;

§ Lady GIFFARD, Sir W. TEMPLE's Daughter.

" Woman; she is eternally plaguing me for
 " Money; tell her I have none to send her;
 " I have had no Remittances from *London*
 " this Quarter of a Year;" and after pre-
 tending to be in a Rage for three or four
 Minutes, he would send her the Money by
 Way of advancing it, and take her Receipt
 accordingly; by which Stratagem, worthy
 to be imitated by every generous Mind, he
 effectually deceived the most sagacious of his
 Acquaintance: Neither, as I have been told,
 was the contrary ever suspected, until some
 Years after his Memory had partly failed,
 when by Accident he discovered his Pay-
 ments to Mrs. DINGLEY to be a Donation
 of his own. And really, a Pension to a
 Sister, is far from having a Sound that is
 agreeable to Politeness. However indeed,
 the Observator's Reflection upon this Point,
 is entirely worthy of himself, and of a Piece
 with the rest of his Criticisms. Dr. SWIFT
 " allowed his Sister a Pension, &c, which,
 " saith he, is a clear Demonstration, that
 " his Repentment (however founded) was
 " neither immortal nor invincible *." But
 the direct contrary, happens to be a Truth,
 far beyond the Politics or the Sagacity of the
 Observator. For, as I have occasionally said
 before, talking of these Matters; " the
 " DOCTOR upon the Death of Mr. FEN-
 " TON, acquainted his Sister by Message,
 " for

* Let. 7.

“ for he would never be so far reconciled as
“ to see her Face, that he would allow her
“ 20 *l.* a Year during her Life, (a Gratitude
“ which it is certain that he never encrea-
“ sed) provided she would live in *England*,
“ but not otherwise *.” Which indeed
was a Reach of Politics in Dr. SWIFT, and
perhaps the only effectual Means he possibly
could have taken, to drive both his Sister
and her Children quite out of the Kingdom,
and put a final Negative upon her living in
Spight of him, directly under his Nose.
There is not, besides, any Colour of Reason,
either to believe or suspect, that SWIFT ever
saw Mrs. FENTON, whether by Accident or
otherwise, from the Time of her Husband’s
Death until his last Hour, except once in a
Chariot with Lady GIFFARD, as he was
going from *London* to *Windsor*, in the Year
1711.

BUT further, the Observator, never at a
Loss for an Argument to prove or disprove
any Fact whatsoever, has ventured to assert,
that Dr. SWIFT’s Resentment to his Sister
arose not from her having accepted an Over-
ture of Marriage, which he utterly disdain-
ed; but from “ her having married a Man,
“ against whom he had conceived a parti-
“ cular and personal Dislike †.” But the
Observator, in the Hurry of his Imagination,
when he was writing this Letter, absolutely
forgot

* Vid. Chap. 6. p. 104.

† Let. 7.

forgot that Dr. SWIFT spent his whole Time in *England* from the Year 1688 until the Year 1699, excepting two Visits that he made to *Ireland*; the former in the Year 1690, and the latter in the Year 1694, when he was recommended to my Lord CAPEL, and got the Prebend of KILROOT in the Diocese of *Connor*, which he resigned in a few Months, and went back to *England*; from whence he never returned, until he came over with my Lord BERKLEY in the Year 1699, at which Period this Match of his Sister was really in Agitation; and, by the Persuasion of her Uncles, in great Forwardness. And therefore, it is absurd to imagine, that Dr. SWIFT, who had been absent from *Ireland* for such a Length of Time as five whole Years, could have conceived any particular or personal Dislike to Mr. FENTON. So far from it, that in all Likelihood, and I have Reason to be of that Opinion, he never knew that such a Man existed upon Earth, until he received an Account of the Proposal which had been made to his Sister. However, it is certain, that within a short Time after the Marriage; FENTON, who was by all Accounts an insolent, brutal Fellow, observing Dr. SWIFT to be extremely exasperated against his Sister, and never likely to be reconciled to, or have any Correspondence with her, on Account of her degrading herself, and exposing her Brother,

Brother, by accepting so detestable a Match, gave himself great Liberties, in abusing and vilifying the DOCTOR; which naturally served only to encrease the Fury and Bitterness of SWIFT against him and his Family. I could enlarge abundantly on the Circumstances of this Quarrel; but I think already we have had much more than sufficient.

WE are also told by the Observator, "that a Friend of Mrs. WHITEWAY's sometimes marketted for Dr. SWIFT, when his Infirmities called for a more than ordinary Attention to his Diet*." It is false: There never was any Friend of Mrs. WHITEWAY's, that ever once marketted for him; nor any Body else that I know of, except Mrs. WORRALL, and his own Domesticks.

BUT, to remove some vile Aspersions, which have been thrown by the Observator on particular Persons, I cannot but say, that he never was so unfortunate in the blackest of his Contrivances to sink and degrade the Memory of Dr. SWIFT, as in asserting, that one of the Methods he devised to cheat his Avarice, was that of giving Pensions to his nearest Relations: A Point so far from having the least Foundation of Truth to support it, that I believe I shall be able to produce some Reasons, I had almost said Demonstrations, to the contrary.

C c

WHEN

* Let. 11.

WHEN Dr. SWIFT came over to his Deanery in the Year 1713, he had in *Ireland* nine Cousin-germans living, viz. five Sons and one Daughter, the Children of that Uncle, *(Sedwin)* at whose House he was born, and by whose Bounty he was supported and educated until he was one and twenty *; one Daughter of his Uncle WILLIAM SWIFT, and two Daughters of his Uncle ADAM SWIFT: He had besides, two Relations more, who were the Daughters of his great Benefactor and Cousin-german WILLOUGHBY SWIFT †: These, and their Infant Children, were all the Relations which Dr. SWIFT had in the Kingdom. Now, three of the Sons of his Uncle SWIFT were Men of Estates, who lived in the Country, and had larger Properties than Dr. SWIFT himself was ever possessed of; the fourth was a Lieutenant in LIGONIER's Horse, and married to a Widow, who had a Jointure of a Hundred and Twenty Pounds a Year; the fifth and youngest of these Brothers, who lived a Bachelor all his Life, and was bred to the Law, was Agent to the great Estate of his Friend and Cousin-german the late Sir RICHARD MEADE, by whom he was sincerely beloved, and with whom he spent the greater Part of his Time: The Daughter of his Uncle SWIFT, who never married, lived with

* Vid. Chap. 3. p. 22. and Chap. 4. p. 36.

† Vid. Dr. SWIFT's Letter, Chap. 4. p. 51.

See p. 23.
p. xlii.

with her own Brother (who was the old Friend and Correspondent of Dr. SWIFT *) until he died, in the Spring of the Year 1714; after his Death she went and lived with her elder Brother GODWIN SWIFT, and died at his House in the Year 1719: The Daughter of his Uncle WILLIAM SWIFT was an Heiress, and the Daughter of an Heiress: she married her Cousin-german GODWIN SWIFT, and brought him an Addition to his own Estate of about four Hundred Pounds a Year: One of the Daughters of his Uncle ADAM SWIFT was likewise an Heiress: Her Fortune was worth a good deal above two Thousand Pounds; she married a Clergyman who had a Benefice in the Church, and about two Hundred Pounds a Year Estate of Inheritance: The other Daughter of his Uncle ADAM married, I think, rather to please herself, than to answer the Expectations of her Friends: Her Father, nevertheless, after his Passion cooled, and his Anger subsided, gave her a Thousand Pounds: The elder Daughter of WILLOUGHBY SWIFT had a Fortune of 1700 *l.* and was married to a Gentleman of about four or five Hundred Pounds a Year: The younger Daughter of WILLOUGHBY SWIFT, whose Fortune was not quite so large as that of her elder Sister, married a Clergyman, whose Estate of Inheritance is

C c 2 between

* DEANE SWIFT, Vid. Chap. 4. p. 51.

between three and four Hundred Pounds a Year.

THIS indeed, after all the Shocks and Misfortunes of their Ancestors, both in *England* and *Ireland*, was the real Condition and State of the Family in the Year 1713.

BUT, lest the Observator, whose Genius ever delights in Falshood, Malice, and Defamation, should insinuate hereafter, that although Dr. SWIFT's Relations abovementioned were greatly above accepting any Sort of Pensions, the DOCTOR through Kindness and Affection might have assisted the younger Branches of the Family as they grew up, and were very numerous; I shall endeavour to obviate even this, and all other Suppositions of the like Nature: For, since Truth, in spite of a Thousand Arts that have been used to conceal it, will out, and must be told; the Family of the SWIFTS in general were upon no Terms of Friendship with the DOCTOR, nor he with them; at least after his return to *Ireland* upon the QUEEN's Death.

BUT, what Occasion is there for insisting upon a Thousand Arguments to refute a malicious and groundless Calumny? The only Presents which Doctor SWIFT ever made in his Life, beside what hereafter shall be acknowledged, to any Man of his Name and Family, were a Bundle of Officers, and Half a Dozen young Cherry-trees to his Cousin

DEANE

DEANE SWIFT, when he was planting his Garden near fifty Years ago; and an ELZEVIR VIRGIL, in the Year 1738, to one of the present Generation.

*Also, a set
of his letters to
Deane Swift in
1736?*

HOWEVER indeed, there were some three or four, among the Women of the Family, whom the DOCTOR greatly regarded: But, excepting to that one Person, whom every Body knows to have been his intimate Friend; and who upon all Occasions acknowledges her Obligations to him, and is pleased in doing so; he never gave to the Value of Ten Pounds to all the rest; unless it were a Seal, a Ring, or some little Toy, which he thought would be acceptable to a young Person. What he hath left in his Will is already public, and therefore I shall avoid repeating it.

BUT further, the Observator is pleased, without any Reason or Provocation, to reproach the Author of these Papers, if I do not greatly misunderstand him, with the most hellish Ingratitude to Dr. SWIFT*. Strange, incredible, and amazing, to all those who are acquainted with the Fortunes of Mr. S, and his Connexion with the DOCTOR! This however is no Place for inserting the Annals of twenty Years, or telling a long, various, and complicated Story. I shall therefore only observe, that Mr. S. freely acknowledges to have received from Dr.

SWIFT

* Vid. Obs. Let. 1.

SWIFT in Presents of Books and Toys to the Value of 8*l*. at the highest Computation, The DOCTOR also gave him a Picture of the late Duke of ORMOND, and left him in his Will a Silver Standish; which are all the Favours of any Kind he ever received at his Hands. But for Obligations;—(whatever he could say in relation to himself on the other Side of the Question; a Point which by no Means concerneth the Public to be inquisitive about) he never had one Obligation, or the Colour of an Obligation, to Dr. SWIFT, in his whole Life.

HOWEVER indeed, since we are talking of Ingratitude; there were, I confess, some few ungrateful People among the Dean's Acquaintance; in particular there is one Instance

* * * * *

which occasioned the following Epitaph on the Dean's Dog.

* Of all the Dogs array'd in Fur,
Here underlies the truest Curr;
He knew no Tricks, he never flatter'd;
Nor those he fawn'd upon, bespatter'd;
So far a Courtier, he would wait,
And condescend to lick a Plate;

But

* Mr. S. would have been proud to have been the Author of these Verses: But as they are not of his Writing, he so declares it to the World.

But never strove, O SWIFT, when fed,
To bite the Hand, which gave him Bread.

OH, that your Dogs, who walk on two,
Had only been but Half as true !

Through thick and thin, replete or hollow,
Thy Steps unerring he would follow ;

While they, who pride in being Scholars,
Desert thee now with golden Collars ;

Or, like ACTÆON's horrid Pack,
Return, to fall upon thy Back.

THE Observator seemingly doth also accuse Mr. S. at least among others, of flattering the DOCTOR, and " feeding him in the " Decline of his Understanding, as if he " were a Child, with Plumbs and Sweet-meats, instead of salutary Food *." This, I believe, is the first Time that ever Mr. S. was accused or suspected, either by Friends or Enemies, to have the least Tincture of that insinuating Art in his whole Composition. He appeals on this Occasion to every Person now remaining alive, that ever saw him at the Deanery. But, not to insist upon Trifles ; if Mr. S. was a Flatterer, he was surely the most unfortunate in the Application of his Talents, of any Man that ever was acquainted with the Dean ; as, in Truth, he never had, nor ever pretended to have had, any Sort of Interest with Dr. SWIFT, at any Period of his Life. I am there-

* Vid. Obs. Let. 19.

therefore somewhat inclined to an Opinion, that he was the farthest from being a Flatterer of any Man that ever conversed with the Dean.

MR. S. cannot but think himself accused in the third Paragraph of the Observator's first Letter; which, if I mistake not, is fraught with an Insinuation, for which the Observator, had he set his Name to his Book, would rather have deserved to have been * * * *, what Politeness hinders me to say, than answered. But whatever this Accusation contains, I shall vouchsafe it with Mildness a short Confutation.

AND yet before I proceed in the Vindication of Mr. S. I should be glad to know who were those best Friends of the Dean, in Opposition to the rest of his Acquaintance, who are supposed to have been banished from about him. For, this I cannot but assert, in Truth and Justice to those, with whom I had the Pleasure to spend some very chearful Hours; that I have conversed at the Deanery, even since the Year 1738, with as faithful and sincere Friends of Dr. SWIFT, and with Men of as much Honour, as ever he was acquainted with in his Life, or perhaps could have been acquainted with. If an odd designing Hypocrite, or so, got Admittance into his Company, and by Degrees into his Friendship; (as I have Reason to believe he never was, even in the best of his

his Days, without some ISCARIOT or other about him) surely the remaining Part of his Friends and Acquaintance, ought no more to be abused and calumniated without Exception, for the unworthy Demeanour of such People, than St. MATTHEW, St. JOHN, and the rest of the *Apostles*, for the Behaviour of a JUDAS?

BUT, to resume what I was about: Mr. S. although he was acquainted with Dr. SWIFT from the Age of thirteen, had but little Correspondence with him until the Year 1738, having spent the greater Part of his rational Life in *England*. Upon his Return to *Ireland* in those Days, he had not one Acquaintance in the Kingdom, to the best of his Recollection, that wanted any Favour of any Kind, that was in the DOCTOR'S Power to confer: And, as for himself, as he was neither a Lawyer nor a Divine, he was greatly above accepting all the Favours, accumulated one upon another, which the DOCTOR had in his Gift. Moreover, he had neither Spleen nor Pique to any human Creature that was acquainted with the Dean; but, on the contrary, respected most of them, as he had always done, upon Account of their Reputation, from his early Years. He therefore may, I presume, be credited, when he declares, of his own accord, in the most solemn Manner,

c. 1726?

ner, (not that he cares one single Farthing, whether any of those who pretend to have been the Doctor's Friends, will believe or disbelieve it) that to the best of his Belief, Knowledge, and Recollection, he never did once in the Revolution of twenty Years, or more, that he was acquainted with him, either directly or indirectly, by Words, by Gesture, by Looks, or otherwise, convey any Sort of Idea, any Kind of Sentiment, to the Brain, to the Eyes, or to the Heart, of Dr. SWIFT, tending to the Prejudice or Dishonour of any Man whatsoever, in the whole Circle of his Acquaintance: But, on the contrary, he generally, if not always, did, as Occasion offered, speak as favourably and respectfully of them as he thinks he could have done, without insulting Truth, and leaping over its Boundaries. Neither indeed was he ever once tempted throughout all his Life, to banish any Friend or Acquaintance of the Dean's from about him: He saith he never was tempted, because such a Design never came into his Thoughts.

C H A P. XIII.

THE Character of SWIFT is upon the whole so exceedingly strange, various, and perplexed, that I am afraid it can never be drawn up with any Degree of Accuracy;
the

the Materials for it, nevertheless, are most of them to be collected from his own Writings. I shall therefore content myself with remarking some few Particulars, which have occurred to my Thoughts upon this Occasion; without recapitulating what I have said before; or indeed venturing to expose my own Want of Judgment, in attempting the Delineation of a Character, which hath entirely baffled all Endeavours which have been hitherto made, either by Friends or Enemies.

SWIFT's natural Temper seemeth to have been a miraculous Compound of the placid and the severe. The placid frequently had the Superiority in his Breast; and the severe in its Turn, when excited by the Follies and Corruptions of human Kind, as frequently, the Predominance.

He was by Nature of a Spirit wonderfully exalted. His Pride, if Pride it must be called, was of a Turn peculiar to himself. "My Lord *," (saith he) what I would have said of Fame, is meant of Fame which a Man enjoys in his Life; because I cannot be a great Lord, I would acquire what is a Kind of *Subsidium*; I would endeavour that my Betters should seek me by the Merit of something distinguishable, instead of my seeking them." A Point which he really valued himself highly upon throughout

* Vol. 7. Let. 40. to Lord BOLINGBROKE.

throughout his whole Life; but especially after he had arrived to the full Enjoyment of his Fame. " Mr. GAY (saith he) will " tell you [the Dutchess of QUEENSBURY] " that a nameless Person sent me eleven " Messages before I would yield to a Visit : " I mean a Person to whom he is infinitely " obliged, for being the Occasion of the " Happiness he now enjoys, under the Pro- " tection of my Lord Duke and your " Grace *." His whole Deportment was of a Piece with these Ideas; neither would he have stooped to converse with the greatest Monarch in *Europe*, upon any Terms lower than Equality.

HE knew to a Point, the Respect that was due unto him; which he took Care to exact without any Sort of Abatements. You may observe from one particular Instance, with what Quickness he resented any Failure in good Manners, properly so called. An *English* Clergyman that was appointed Bishop of some Diocese in *Ireland*, sent his Servant one Morning to the Dean, to beg the Favour of him to order ST. PATRICK'S Cathedral to be got ready against the next *Sunday* for his Consecration; but the DOCTOR would by no Means grant his Request: However, he thought proper to say, he would order the Church to be in Readiness against the *Sunday* following. When the Servant was gone, the

* Vol. 7. Let. 50.

the Doctor told a Friend that was with him, he could as well have had the Church ready against the next, as against the following *Sunday*: But, said he, my Reason for refusing to grant that Gentleman's Request was, because he ought to have come himself, and not sent his Servant to me upon such a Message.

NEITHER could he endure to be treated with any Sort of Familiarity; or, that any Man living (his three or four old Acquaintance in *England*, with whom he corresponded to the last, only excepted) should rank himself in the Number of his Friends. I remember there was a young Person of Quality, a good many Years ago, who upon some Occasion or other, I forget what it was, ventured to address the Doctor in the Stile of Dear SWIFT, and afterwards call himself the Doctor's Friend. When the Dean opened his Epistle; which, if I mistake not, was designed as a Compliment, his Indignation took instant Fire: Dear SWIFT! said he, What monstrous Familiarity is here! But, when he found the Writer of the Epistle had called himself his Friend, he was out of all Patience. My Friend! my Friend! said the Doctor; pish, psha; my Friend! But—(said he, recollecting himself) he is a Lord, and so let it pass.

It is, I think, very justly remarked by the Observator, “ that SWIFT's Spirit was
“ formed

" formed with a strong Reluctance to Sub-
 " mission of any Kind; and particularly
 " that he paid no Regard to the Monitions
 " of his Friends and Physicians, Doctor
 " HELSHAM and Doctor GRATTAN, who
 " had frequently admonished him of his
 " over-exercise*. However, it was not, as
 the Observator is pleased to conjecture, be-
 cause he was weary of Life, that he paid
 no Regard to their Monitions. It was from
 an old settled Principle, confirmed and ri-
 vetted in his Mind, when he was in the
 Height of his Glory, and the Meridian of
 his Life; a Principle indeed, which he
 maintains, or at least endeavours to maintain,
 with infinite Wit and Humour, in a Letter
 to Mrs. JOHNSON, who had, upon some
 Occasion or other, advised him to take Phy-
 sic upon the Fall of the Leaf. " A Fig,
 " (saith he) Madam, for your Physician;
 " if I grow worse, I will; otherwise I will
 " trust to Temperance and Exercise. Your
 " Fall of a Leaf: What care I when the
 " Leaves fall? I am sorry to see them fall
 " with all my Heart; but why should I
 " take Physic because Leaves fall off from
 " Trees? That wont hinder them from
 " falling: If a Man falls off a Horse, must
 " I take Physic for that? This arguing
 " makes

* Obs. Let. 12.

" makes you mad; but it is true right Reason, not to be disputed *."

SWIFT was not only above all Tincture of Envy in his Composition; but his Talents were so great, that he was totally superior to the Emulation of all inferior Wits: They every one of them bowed down unto him as unto the *Viceroy of Apollo*.

THE Daemon of Malice was also a Stranger to his Heart: And well it might; for, if at any Time he was attacked with injurious Treatment, he never smothered his Revenge like a way-laying Coward, until a safer Opportunity; but, like a brave and generous Spirit, knocked down his Adversary directly on the Spot.

THE common Vices and Foibles of human Kind he lashed with great Severity, in Order to restrain their Influence; and, if it were possible, to hinder the Contagion from spreading in the Community; yet still without making Examples of particular Persons: But, Slaves to Party, and Traitors to the Publick Interest, he exposed without Mercy to the Derision of the World. It may be thought, perhaps, that private Animosity frequently gave an Edge to his Satire. I cannot tell, but in some Cases it might. But then we are to consider, that Dr. SWIFT never looked upon himself in the Character of

* Let. to Mrs. JOHNSON, Nov. 3, 1711.

of a private Person. He knew that a Patriot, like an *Asiatic* Prince, must make himself dreaded: If he be once foiled, his Power is at an End. And without Controversy, Dominion, absolute Dominion, he had resolved to possess over the Minds of Men, especially over the Minds of his Countrymen; and accordingly he did possess it.

SWIFT was certainly a Man of great Ambition, although he denies it in two or three several Passages of his Writings: But, his Ambition, ever directed by the Rules of Honour, was of a noble, exalted Strain, worthy to be cherished in the Breast of an Angel. "Nothing so much contributed" (saith he) to my Ease as the Turn of Affairs after the Queen's Death; by which "all my Hopes being cut off, I could have" "no Ambition left, unless I would have" "been a greater Rascal than happened to" "suit with my Temper*."

It is certain, that without Avarice, properly so called, SWIFT had some Desire for Wealth: But many were his Inducements out of the common Road for procuring Riches to himself. He had observed, that all Things were running to Wreck and Ruin in the Kingdom of *Ireland*, particularly Tithes, wherein consisted almost his whole Revenue: He had observed, that *Dulness* was

* Vol. vii. Let. 50.

was the Consequence of Poverty†; that *People's Solicitude about their own Affairs perpetually filled their Thoughts, and disturbed their Conversation*§; that *Wealth is LIBERTY*; and *LIBERTY is a Blessing fittest for a Philosopher*.—GAY (saith he) *is a Slave, just by two thousand Pounds too little*.—And HORACE *was of my Mind*—and let my Lord [BOLINGBROKE] *contradict him if he dares*‡. Upon these Principles it was, that SWIFT recommended OEconomy, and the pursuit of Wealth, to his dearest Friends. But, in Truth, SWIFT himself was of such a Temper, that he could not live *sine Dignitate*; he declares that it would kill him in a Month. Besides, he could not endure to *make any Abatements in his Liberalities**. His Ideas were noble, vast, and extensive; they ran wild and various, through unbeaten Paths; instead of contracting, like a Stoic, his Occasions for Wealth, he rather was fond to create new Channels for his Expences. “Your Wants (saith he to POPE) are
 “so few, that you need not be rich to sup-
 “ply them; and my Wants are so many,
 “that a King’s seven millions of Guineas
 “would not support me||.” What a glo-
 rious

† Vol. vii. Let. 41.

§ Vol. vii. Let. 49.

‡ Vol. vii. Let. 32.

* Vol. viii. p. 408.

|| Vol. vii. Let. 76.

rious Thought in a patriot Spirit, that was liberal to Profusion!

SWIFT in his private Character was a Man of fine Address, and perfectly well bred: He knew to a Point all the Modes and Variations of Complaisance and Politeness. And yet his Manners were not framed like the Manners of any other Mortal: But, corrected by general Observation, and adapted to his own peculiar Turn of Genius, they shone forth, always enlivened more or less with some Spirit of Dominion, in a Blaze of Politeness, so inimitably, and so determinately his own, that in Effect they seemed to be the Result of pure Nature, uncopied from any the brightest, or the fairest Original.

SWIFT talked a great deal in all Companies, without engrossing the Conversation to himself. His Rule of Politeness in this Case was, that every Man had a Right to speak for a Minute; and when that Minute was out, if nobody else took up the Discourse, after a short Pause of two or three Moments, the same Person had an equal Right with any of the rest of the Company, to speak again, and again, and again, and so on during the whole Evening. His chief Delight, however, was to entertain, and be entertained, in small Circles; which he liked the better, if two or three Women of good Understanding happened to be of the Party

Party, the Delicacy of their Sentiments, like the Delicacy of their Frame, being in all Likelihood providentially designed, to embellish and refine our Conversation, as well as to smooth and polish the Roughness of our Nature: Which indeed is remarked by SWIFT himself, in his Letter to my Lord Treasurer OXFORD. " Since the Women
 " (saith he) have been left out of all Meet-
 " ings, except Parties of Play, or where
 " worse Designs are carried on, our Con-
 " versation hath very much degenerated*."
 But, in the Character of a *tete à tete* Companion, according to the best Judgment that I can form of his great Abilities, if I may be allowed the Expression, he rather excelled himself. Few that are equal to him in that Respect, perhaps none that are his Superiors, can be found upon Earth. He was by no Means in the Class with those, who pour down their Eloquence like a Torrent, driving all before it. Far from any Desires of that Sort, he equally loved to speak, and loved to hearken: Like FALSTAFF, he not only had Wit himself, but frequently was the Cause of Wit in others. However indeed, that universal Reverence which was paid to his great Abilities, frequently struck a Damp on the Spirits of those who were not perfectly well acquainted with him; an Effect of Modesty, which however did not

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always

always happen to be construed to their Advantage, unless it were in the Case of very young People. For, when such Persons were gone, if none but his Intimates were present, he would express himself with some Degree of Emotion; and cry, Such a one, I have heard, is a very great Man; or, such a one, they say, has Abundance of Learning; or, such a one, I have been told, has an excellent Understanding; but GOD deliver me from such Companions!

IF any Point, whether religious, moral, or political, happened when he was present to be controverted in a Circle of his Acquaintance, he was fond to listen with great Attention to the Merits of the Argument: And, if any Doubt remained, after a fair Discussion of the Point, he would recapitulate the Sum of what had been said; then State the Matter in the clearest Light, and appeal unto the unbiaſſed Judgment of the youngest Person in Company.

IF we consider Dr. SWIFT in his Character as a Divine and a Christian, we shall find him, although not so grave, yet at least as perfect, as the most famous of his Contemporaries. His first setting out in the World may be thought somewhat singular, in this profane, hypocritical, corrupted age. We are assured from his own Accounts, that his Ideas of Religion were so extremely delicate, that he could not but entertain some Scruple,
not-

notwithstanding his Fortune was very small, of entering into the Church merely for Support; although it is plain, that he had early separated himself to the Work of the Ministry: But, as soon as he had an Opportunity of living, without being driven into the Church for a Maintenance, he returned from *Moore-Park* to *Ireland*, and took Holy Orders*. He was of a Genius thoroughly well adapted for the Improvement of any Congregation whatever, his Arguments being always clear, cogent, and satisfactory: But surely, those improved, extensive Abilities, which rendered him at once the Delight and the Admiration of the World, were never designed by his Creator to be confined within the narrow Limits of any Parish or Diocese. At his first launching into the World, he promised to be a Star of some extraordinary Magnitude. In the earliest of his Productions, *The Tale of a Tub*, he exposeth the Follies and Corruptions of Religion with irresistible Wit and Humour; he vindicateth the reformed Church of *England* and *Ireland* from the Imputation of Abuse, and displayeth all her Graces and Beauties to the Admiration of the World. In the Year 1710 he procured for the Clergy of *Ireland* the *Twentieth-Parts* and *First-Fruits*, without any Imagination of Interest for himself. With what egregious Contempt

See pp 17, 59

See also
p. 34.

* Vid. Append. Sect. 25.

tempt and Ridicule, in his *Argument against abolishing Christianity*, doth he expose the Absurdity of those Wretches, who are the Patrons and Abettors of Vice and Irreligion? With what apostolical Freedom, in his *Project for the Advancement of Religion*, doth he conjure the Monarch and the whole Legislature, to press forward the Reformation of Manners, and the Obligation of Christianity? And when he arrived to some little Share of Power among the Tory Ministers in the Queen's Time, he was upon all Occasions the Friend of the Clergy; he was the Guardian and the Watchman of the Catholic Church, against all her open, as well as secret Enemies. He tells BURNET, whom he lashes unmercifully, *that he was a Man who could smell POPERY at five hundred Miles Distance, better than FANATICISM just under his Nose**. And after he had come to settle in *Ireland* upon the Queen's Death, he was in all Matters relating to the Church and Clergy, their Champion and their Defender.

IN his Character as Dean of ST. PATRICK's, he was perfectly regular and exemplary. He went for many Years to Church every Morning; genenerally preached in his Turn; and, as the *Observer* remarks,

* Vid. Pref. to the Bp. of Sarum's Introduction, Vol. vi.

marks, *constantly attended the holy Sacrament, which he consecrated and administred in Person*†, an Office, which it is said, that he performed with Abundance of Grace and Devotion. His Physicians indeed, long before his Death, pressed him to forbear attending in his Cathedral, ST. PATRICK'S Church, which is unhappily subject to the Inundation of a little dirty River, being almost perpetually damp the whole Winter, and frequently so at other Times of the Year; nevertheless he continued his old Practice for a great while, in Spight of all their Remonstrances, until he found by repeated Colds and Experience, that he could bear it no longer. In all Business relating to his CHAPTER, he pursued their public Interest with Firmness and Constancy. He besides took as much Care to regulate his CHOIR, as if he himself had really and truly some Regard for Music: But, in this Particular, he was always guided by the Opinion of those who were supposed to have been Judges of Harmony. And, that his CHOIR might do their Duty, particularly on Sunday Nights, when Variety of the better Sort usually came to hear the Anthem, he constantly went to Church himself. This puts me in Mind of an Anecdote, which happened in those Times. An idle, careless Fellow, but an excellent Singer, and one of the

† Ob. Let. 4.

the best Performers belonging to his Cathedral, having laboured for some Time under the highest Displeasure of the Dean, was forced to absent himself from the Church, and keep entirely out of his Sight. But at last, one Sunday Evening having ventured into the singing Loft, full in the View of the Dean, he began that particular Anthem; *Whither shall I go, whither shall I go, whither shall I fly, from thy Presence?* To Jail, you Dog you, to Jail, said the Doctor, in a Voice loud enough to be heard by many that were about him. But, the next Morning he forgave the poor Sinner, on his Promise of Amendment.

IN his private Character as a Man of Religion, he appears to have been a great and shining Example of Christian Faith and Morals. In himself, he was chaste, sober, and temperate: I remember he once told me occasionally, that he never had been drunk in his Life: In his general Behaviour, he was open, free, disengaged, and chearful: In his Dealings with the World, he was honest and sincere: In relieving the Poor and the Distressed, he was liberal to Profusion; if denying himself, and throwing upon the Waters above a third Part of his Income, will entitle him to the Character of being exceeding generous. With Regard to his Faith, he was truly Orthodox; which I assert in Opposition to a late self-conceited
Polytheist,

Polytheist, not worthy to be named, who declares the Doctor to have been such another *Pagan* as himself. Moreover, he was regular, exceeding regular, as I have hinted before, in all his Duties to GOD, especially in attending the Public Worship; yet still without any Parade, or Colour of Ostentation. But, to crown his whole Character as a Man of Religion; and to shew how much he detested that SATANICAL Vice of Hypocrisy, (the only Doctrine vigorously and heartily recommended by the Observer) I shall transcribe one Paragraph from a Sermon of his, not yet published, *On the Excellency of the CHRISTIAN RELIGION, opposed to HEATHEN PHILOSOPHY.*

“ CHRISTIAN Wisdom (saith he) is without Partiality: It is not calculated for this
 “ or that Nation or People, but the whole
 “ Race of Mankind; not to the philosophical
 “ Schemes, which were narrow and confined;
 “ adapted to their peculiar Towns,
 “ Governments or Sects; but in every Nation,
 “ he that feareth GOD, and worketh
 “ Righteousness, is accepted with HIM.
 “ Lastly, it is without Hypocrisy: It appears
 “ to be what it really is; it is all of a
 “ Piece. By the Doctrines of the Gospel
 “ we are so far from being allowed to publish
 “ to the World those Virtues we have
 “ not, that we are commanded to hide even
 “ from ourselves those we really have, and
 “ not

“ not to let our Right-Hand know what our
 “ Left-Hand does; unlike several Branches
 “ of the HEATHEN Wisdom, which pre-
 “ tended to teach Insensibility and Indiffe-
 “ rence, Magnanimity and Contempt of
 “ Life, while at the same Time in other
 “ Parts it belyed its own Doctrines.”

BUT, to conclude these Speculations up-
 on his Life and Character. Philosophy in
 Dr. SWIFT was a complex Idea, containing
 the whole Variety of his own accumulated
 Knowledge. He was greatly above all phi-
 losophical Systems. *He had no very strong
 Faith in the Pretenders to Retirement*: He
 laughed at all their Prattling and talking *de
 contemptu mundi & fugâ sæculi**. *I renounce
 your Philosophy* (saith he to POPE and BO-
 LINGBROKE) *because it is not your Practice*.
 He approved what old WEYMOUTH said to
 him in the latter Part of the Queen's Reign,
 and in his lordly Latin, *philosophia verba ig-
 nava opera*. *The D—l take Stupidity* (saith
 he in another Place) *that it will not come in
 to supply the Place of Philosophy*†. In short,
 my Lord BOLINGBROKE never could per-
 suade him to put on his philosophical Specta-
 cles||: Neither could POPE forbear to beg it
 of him as a Piece of Mercy, that he would not
 laugh at his Gravity, but permit him to wear
 the

* Vol. vii. Let. 8.
 † Vol. vii. Let. 39.

† Vol. vii. Let. 40.

the Beard of a Philosopher, until he pulled it off, and made a Jest of it himself*. He continued to the last to improve the Speculations of his early Days. *Wisdom* (saith he in his *Introduction to the Tale of a Tub*, which he writ when he was a perfect Boy) *is like a Cheese, whereof to a judicious Taste the Maggots are the best.* He relished the Advice which HORACE gave unto his Friend VIRGIL; *Misce stultitiam consiliis brevem*†. Accordingly we find, that when he was fifty-six, he amused himself, with reading the most trifling Books he could find; and writing, if you will take his own Word for it, upon the most trifling Subjects. *Hæc est vita solutorum, &c.* || saith he with a Grace and Carelessness, which are not likely to be imitated §. And when he was above Threescore, recollecting the Words of HORACE, *Dulce est desipere in loco*, he declared, that he loved *la bagatelle* better than ever. Such, and such only, were his Pretences to Philosophy.

JONATHAN SWIFT, S. T. P.
OBIIT.

OCTOBRIS DIE 19^o
Anno } DOMINI MDCCXLV.
 } ÆTATIS SUE LXXVIII.

I CAN-

* Vol. vii. Let. 67. † HOR. Lib. iv. Od.
12. || HOR. Lib. i. Sat. 6. § Vol. vii.
Let. 8.

I CANNOT but think myself obliged, before I take my Leave of the Public, to make some Kind of an Apology for the many and great Imperfections in these Accounts relating to Dr. SWIFT. The proper Season for collecting Materials to write the Life of the Dean, would undoubtedly have been while he himself was alive: But, to speak sincerely, I never had, until very lately, any remote Design of engaging in such a Work. Neither indeed should an Essay upon the Life and Character of the Dean have been a Task I would have undertaken, had it not been to confute and dissipate the erroneous Accounts of others. And therefore I cannot but entertain some Kind of Hope, that whatever may chance to be the Faults or Omissions in this Performance, I shall escape the Censure of the Public, although I cannot be so vain as to expect their Approbation.

Dec. 31, 1754.

F I N I S.